

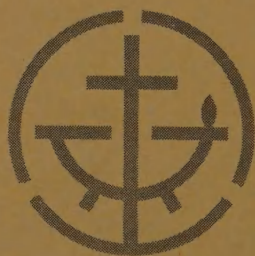
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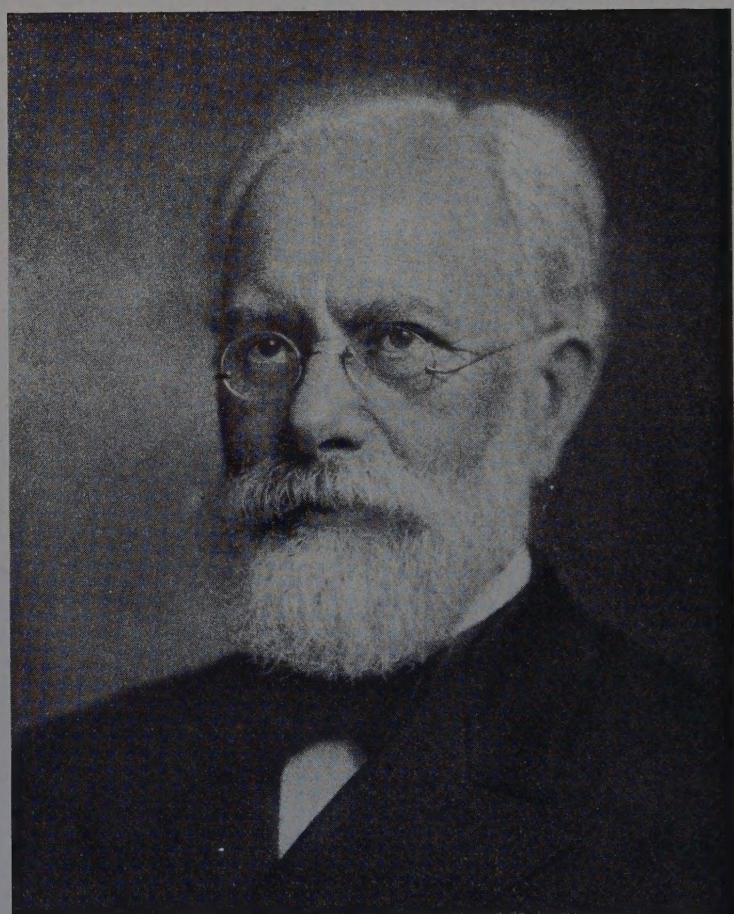
Central Conference of American Rabbis

YEARBOOK
VOLUME XXXIII
CAPE MAY, N. J.
1923



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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

yearbook

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

JUNE TWENTY-SEVENTH TO JULY SECOND
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE
CAPE MAY, N. J.



VOLUME XXXIII

EDITED BY RABBI ISAAC E. MARCUSON

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS

OLD DOMINION PRESS, INC., PRINTERS, RICHMOND, VA.

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OFFICERS

1922-1923

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VICE-PRESIDENT

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

HORACE J. WOLF, Rochester, N. Y.

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Levy, Felix A.

Schulman, Samuel
Stern, Nathan

1922-1924

Bettan, Israel
Franklin, Leo M.

Rauch, Joseph
Rosenau, William

1922-1925

Cohen, Henry
Cohon, Samuel S.

Ettelson, Harry W.
Mann, Louis L.

OFFICERS

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HONORARY PRESIDENT

KAUFMAN KOHLER, New York, N. Y.

PRESIDENT

ABRAM SIMON, Washington, D. C.

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TREASURER

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

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Franklin, Leo M.Rauch, Joseph
Rosenau, William

1923-1925

Cohen, Henry
Cohon, Samuel S.Ettelson, Harry W.
Mann, Louis L.

1923-1926

Calisch, Edward N.
Enelow, Hyman G.Kory, Sol L.
Leipziger, Emil W.

COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES, 1923-1924

CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVES
UPON JOINT COMMISSIONS WITH THE
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Commission on Religious Education

SCHULMAN, SAMUEL, <i>Chairman</i>	KOCH, SAMUEL
ENELOW, HYMAN G.	MARX, DAVID
ETTELSON, HARRY W.	MENDELSON, S. FELIX
GROSSMAN, RUDOLPH	RAUCH, JOSEPH
HELLER, MAX	SLONIMSKY, HENRY

Commission on Synagog Pension Fund

STOLZ, JOSEPH, <i>Chairman</i>	MARCUSON, ISAAC E.
GOLDENSON, SAMUEL H.	NEWFIELD, MORRIS
HIRSCHBERG, ABRAM	WOLSEY, LOUIS

Commission on Tracts

GOLDENSON, SAMUEL H., <i>Chairman</i>	HIRSHBERG, SAMUEL
BETTAN, ISRAEL	LEVY, FELIX A.
FEUERLICHT, MORRIS M.	STERN, NATHAN

Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College

GOLDENSON, SAMUEL H.	MANNHEIMER, EUGENE
----------------------	--------------------

STANDING COMMITTEES

Arbitration

Cohen, Henry <i>Chairman</i>	Heller, Max
Berkowitz, Henry	Koch, Samuel
Fineshriber, William H.	Levi, Harry
Hecht, Sigmund	Mendes, F. DeSola

Church and State

	Lefkowitz, David, <i>Chairman</i>
Feuerlicht, Morris M.	Levi, Charles S.
Philipson, David	Rauch, Joseph

Alabama—Newfield, Morris	Montana—Levin, J. K.
Arkansas—Rhine, A. B.	Nebraska—Cohen, Frederick
California—Magnin, Edgar F.	New Hampshire—Anspacher, Abram
Colorado—Friedman, Wm. S.	New Jersey—Foster, Solomon
Connecticut—Tedesche, Sidney S.	New Mexico—Zielonka, Martin
Delaware—Levinger, Lee J.	New York—Wolf, Horace J.
Dist. of Columbia—Simon, Abram	North Carolina—Rypins, Frederick I.
Florida—Kaplan, Israel L.	Ohio—Philipson, David
Georgia—Marx, David	Oklahoma—Blatt, Joseph
Illinois—Hirschberg, Abram	Oregon—Wise, Jonah B.
Indiana—Feuerlicht, Morris M.	Pennsylvania—Ettelson, Harry W.
Iowa—Mannheimer, Eugene	Rhode Island—Gup, Samuel M.
Kansas—Mayer, Harry H.	South Carolina—Raisin, Jacob S.
Kentucky—Rauch, Joseph	Tennessee—Fineshriber, William H.
Louisiana—Leipziger, Emil W.	Texas—Barnston, Henry H.
Maryland—Lazaron, Morris S.	Vermont—Anspacher, Abram
Massachusetts—Levi, Harry	Virginia—Calisch, Edward N.
Michigan—Franklin, Leo M.	Washington—Koch, Samuel
Minnesota—Rothstein, Leonard J.	West Virginia—Feinstein, Abraham
Mississippi—Kory, Sol L.	Wisconsin—Levi, Charles S.
Missouri—Witt, Louis	Canada—Merritt, Max J.

Contemporaneous History

Linfield, Harry S., <i>Chairman</i>	Heller, Max
Brickner, Barnet R.	Männ, Jacob

Curators of Archives

Englander, Henry, <i>Chairman</i>	Morgenstern, Julian
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.	

Co-operation with National Organizations

Simon, Abraham, <i>Chairman</i>	Lefkowitz, David
Calisch, Edward N.	Philipson, David
Franklin, Leo M.	Rosenau, William
Grossman, Louis	Schulman, Samuel
Heller, Max	Silverman, Joseph
Kohler, Kaufman	Stolz, Joseph

Finance

Lazaron, Morris S., <i>Chairman</i>	Rauch, Joseph
Marcuson, Isaac E.	

Investments

Newfield, Morris, <i>Chairman</i>	Wolsey, Louis
Calisch, Edward N.	

Liturgical Literature

Philipson, David, <i>Chairman</i>	Goldenson, Samuel H.
Marcuson, Isaac E., <i>Secretary</i>	Kohler, Kaufman
Bettan, Israel	Levy, Clifton H.
Calisch, Edward N.	Morgenstern, Julian
Enelow, Hyman G.	Rosenau, William
Ettelson, Harry W.	Schulman, Samuel
Freehof, Solomon B.	Stolz, Joseph

Publications

Marcuson, Isaac E., <i>Chairman</i>	Levy, Clifton Harby
Currick, Max C.	Morgenstern, Julian
Elzas, Barnett A.	

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, <i>Chairman</i>	Newfield, Morris
Brill, Abram	Schanfarber, Tobias
Hirschberg, Abram	

Religious Education

Mann, Louis L., <i>Chairman</i>	Rosenau, William
Fineshriber, William H.	Slonimsky, Henry
Franklin, Leo M.	Wolsey, Louis
Grossman, Rudolph	

Religious Work in Universities

Franklin, Leo M., <i>Chairman</i>	Magnin, Edgar F.
Feldman, Abraham J.	Mann, Louis L.
Fram, Leon	Salzman, Marcus
Frankel, Benjamin	Stern, Richard M.
Friedman, Benjamin	Tarshish, Jacob
Haas, Louis J.	Tedesche, Sidney S.
Levy, Felix A.	Wolfenson, Louis B.

Responsa

Kohler, K., <i>Honorary Chairman</i>	Freehof, Sol B.
Lauterbach, J. Z., <i>Chairman</i>	Landsberg, Max
Bettan, Israel	Rappaport, Julius
Cohon, Samuel S.	

Book of Meditations and Prayers

Freehof, Sol B., <i>Chairman</i>	Cronbach, Abraham
Berkowitz, Henry	Enelow, Hyman G.
Bettan, Israel	Levy, David
Blau, Joel	

Social Justice

Wolf, Horace J., <i>Chairman</i>	Levinger, Lee J.
Coffee, Rudolph I.	Mann, Louis L.
Cronbach, Abraham	Rosenau, William
Ettelson, Harry W.	Silber, Mendel
Frisch, Ephraim	Stern, Nathan

Solicitation of Funds

Lazaron, Morris S., <i>Chairman</i>	Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Alexander, David	Tedesche, Sidney S.

Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions

Zielonka, Martin, <i>Chairman</i>	Macht, Wolfe,
Brickner, Barnet R.	Nathan, Marvin
Cohen, Simon R.	Thurman, Samuel

Synagog Music

Singer, Jacob, <i>Chairman</i>	Holzberg, Abraham
Berkowitz, Henry J.	Mayer, Harry H.
Ettelson, Harry W.	Stern, Nathan
Heller, James G.	Wolsey, Louis

Manual for Conversion Ceremony—Special Committee

Rauch, Joseph, <i>Chairman</i>	Ettelson, Harry W.
Berkowitz, Henry	Rosenau, William

PALESTINE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

General Council

Calisch, Edward N.	Lyons, Alexander
Fineshriber, William H.	Witt, Louis
Hirschberg, Abram	Wolf, Horace J.

Central Committee

Landman, Isaac	Marcuson, Isaac E.
Levi, Charles S.	Stern, Nathan
Mann, Louis L.	Simon, Abram

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES OF THE
CAPE MAY CONVENTION*President's Message*

Philipson, David, <i>Chairman</i>	Levi, Charles S.
Bettan, Israel	Magnin, Edgar F.
Enelow, Hyman G.	Morgenstern, Julian
Foster, Solomon	Rosenau, William
Franklin, Leo M.	Schulman, Samuel
Goldenson, Samuel H.	Wolsey, Louis
Heller, James G.	

Resolutions

Mann, Louis L., <i>Chairman</i>	Minda, Albert G.
Alexander, David	Newfield, Morris
Gup, Samuel M.	Skirball, Jack H.
Lazaron, Morris S.	Stern, Richard M.
Marcuson, Isaac E.	

Nominations

Ettelson, Harry W., <i>Chairman</i>	Frisch, Ephraim
Brickner, Barnett R.	Lefkowitz, David
Israel, Edward L.	Lovitch, Meyer
Freehof, Solomon B.	

Publicity

Levy, Clifton Harby, <i>Chairman</i>	Landman, Isaac
	Merfeld, Harry A.

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JUNE 27

Opening Prayer—Harry W. Ettelson

Roll Call

Reports :

President—Edward N. Calisch

Recording Secretary—Isaac E. Marcuson

Corresponding Secretary—Horace J. Wolf

Treasurer—Louis Wolsey

Solicitation Committee—Morris S. Lazaron

Publications Committee—Isaac E. Marcuson

Investment Committee—Louis Wolsey

Church and State—David Lefkowitz

Revision of the Union Haggadah—Samuel S. Cohon

Book of Meditations and Prayers—Solomon B. Freehof

Curators of Archives—Henry Englander

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Report of Committee on Religious Work in Universities—Leo M. Franklin
Paper—The Jewish Student at the University—Eugene Mannheimer

WEDNESDAY EVENING

Prayer—Clifton H. Levy

President's Message—Edward N. Calisch

Memorial Resolutions :

Samuel Mendelsohn—George Solomon

Louis Bernstein—Julian H. Miller

Emil G. Hirsch—Kaufman Kohler

Joseph Krauskopf—Henry Berkowitz

Leopold Wintner—Clifton H. Levy

Kaddish and Benediction—David Phillipson

THURSDAY, JUNE 28

Opening Prayer—Solomon Foster

Reports of Committees:

Synagog Music—Jacob Singer

Responsa—Jacob Z. Lauterbach

Contemporaneous History—Samuel S. Cohon

THURSDAY EVENING

Report of Commission on Social Justice—Horace J. Wolf

Paper—The Social Creeds of the Churches—Abraham Cronbach

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 29

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DAY

Opening Prayer—Louis I. Egelson

Report of Joint Commission on Jewish Religious Education

(a) Preliminary Statement by Chairman, David Philipson.

The Progress and Present Status of Jewish Religious Education,
Dr. E. Gamoran.

(b) Religious Education Exhibit

Religious Education Program

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Report of Committee on President's Message

Report of Committee on Religious Education

FRIDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—Edgar F. Magnin

Sabbath Eve Services—Lee J. Levinger

Conference Lecture—Felix A. Levy

Adoration and Kaddish—Hyman Iola

Benediction—Edward N. Calisch

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

Opening Prayer—Henry J. Berkowitz

Morning Service for the Sabbath—Solomon Fineberg

Reading from Torah—Abraham Feinstein

Conference Sermon—Nathan Stern

Adoration and Kaddish—Meyer Lovitch

Benediction—Charles S. Levi

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

Paper—Music of the Synagog—A. Z. Idelsohn

Paper—The Jew in Mexico—Martin Zielonka

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1

Opening Prayer—Sol Landman

Paper—Sabato Morais—William Rosenau

Memorial Address—Martin A. Meyer—Hyman G. Enelow

Paper—Devotional Literature in the Vernacular Prior to the Reform
Movement—Solomon B. Freehof

Reports :

Tract Commission—Samuel H. Goldenson

Relief and Synagog Pension Funds—Joseph Stolz

Committee on Resolutions—Louis L. Mann

Committee on Nominations—Harry W. Ettelson

Election of Officers

Benediction—Julian Morgenstern

Adjournment

PROCEEDINGS

The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was held at Cape May, N. J., June 27th to July 1st, 1923.

The sessions were held in the Cape May High School Auditorium. The opening session was called to order on Wednesday morning, June 27th, at 10 o'clock, with the President, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, in the Chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Harry W. Ettelson.

To the roll call, the following 117 members answered present during the course of the Convention:

List of Members Present

Aaronson, Michael	Fink, Joseph L.
Abrams, Samuel J.	Fischer, Henry M.
Alexander, David	Foster, Solomon
Anspacher, Abraham S.	Fram, Leon
Barasch, Nathan E.	Frank, Julius
Baron, Joseph L.	Frankel, Benjamin
Berkowitz, Henry J.	Franklin, Leo M.
Bettan, Israel	Freehof, Solomon B.
Blau, Joel	Freund, Iser
Brickner, Barnet R.	Friedman, William S.
Calisch, Edward N.	Frisch, Ephraim
Cohen, Simon	Goldberg, David
Cohon, Samuel S.	Goldenson, Samuel H.
Cronbach, Abraham	Grossman, Rudolph
Egelson, Louis I.	Gup, Samuel M.
Enelow, Hyman G.	Haas, Louis J.
Ettelson, Harry W.	Heller, James G.
Feinstein, Abraham	Holzberg, Abraham
Feldman, Abraham J.	Iola, Hyman
Fineberg, Solomon	Israel, Edward L.

Kaplan, Israel L.	Philipson, David
Kaplan, Samuel S.	Pollak, Jacob B.
Kaufman, Max	Rabinowitz, Samuel A.
Klein, Jacob	Raisin, Jacob S.
Kory, Sol L.	Ranson, Marius
Landman, Isaac	Reichert, Irving F.
Landman, Solomon	Reichler, Max
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.	Rosenau, William
Lazaron, Morris S.	Rosenbaum, David
Lefkowitz, David	Rosenberg, Adolph
Leibert, Julius A.	Rothstein, Leonard J.
Leipziger, Emil W.	Rubenstein, Charles A.
Levi, Charles S.	Rypins, Frederick I.
Levinger, Lee J.	Salzman, Marcus
Levy, Clifton H.	Sanders, Ira E.
Levy, David	Schulman, Samuel
Levy, Felix A.	Schwartz, Samuel
Linfield, Harry S.	Schwartz, William B.
Loewenberg, William	Sessler, Morris
Lovitch, Meyer	Silber, Mendel
Luchs, Alvin S.	Silver, Abba Hillel
Macht, Wolfe	Simon, Abram
Magnin, Edgar F.	Singer, Jacob
Mannheimer, Eugene	Skirball, Jack H.
Mann, Jacob	Slonimsky, Henry
Mann, Louis L.	Starrels, Elihu
Marcuson, Isaac E.	Stern, Nathan
Markowitz, Samuel H.	Stern, Richard M.
Marx, David	Stolz, Joseph
Mayer, Harry H.	Tarshish, Jacob
Mayerberg, Samuel S.	Thurman, Samuel
Merfeld, Harry A.	Weiss, Harry
Meyerovitz, Jacob I.	Wessel, Harvey E.
Minda, Albert G.	Wise, Stephen S.
Mischkind, Louis A.	Wolf, Horace J.
Montaz, Arthur S.	Wolsey, Louis
Morgenstern, Julian	Zepin, George
Nathan, Marvin	Zielonka, Martin
Newfield, Morris	

Messages of greeting were read from Rabbis Rudolph I. Coffee, Henry Cohen, Max C. Currick, Morris M. Feuerlicht, Maurice H. Harris, Kaufman Kohler, Nathan Krass, George Solomon.

Rabbi Edward N. Calisch read the annual report of the President.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: During the year covered by this report there have been four meetings of the Executive Board, one at Cape May, immediately after the close of the Conference meeting, on July 3, 1922; one at Cincinnati on October 31 and November 1, 1922; one at New York City on January 22, 1923; and one at Cape May on June 25 and 26, 1923. At these meetings the business of the Conference was carried on, the record of which will be given to you in the report of the Secretary. I desire however to call your attention to a few items. At the post-conference meeting, the Executive Board voted the sum of \$1,000 for relief of distressed and needy rabbis and scholars in Europe. As Rabbi Rauch was on the point of departure for Europe, I entrusted this sum to him for distribution. He consulted the Jewish leaders in London as to conditions, with the results as given in the following letter from Dr. A. Buechler to Rabbi Rauch:

261 Goldhurst Terrace,
West Hampstead, London, N. W. 6,
December 13, 1922.

Dear Dr. Rauch:

It is only today that I am in a position to transmit to you the receipts of the Austrian and of the Hungarian rabbis, among whom in accordance with your instructions, two-thirds of the thousand dollars, kindly handed me on behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, were distributed. Their great appreciation and their warm thanks for the generous help of your great conference you will find in the letters of the three rabbis who distributed the money. The third third of the thousand dollars has apparently not yet been distributed. When I asked Dr. Moses Schorr, of whose call to the rabbinate in Warsaw as the late Dr. Poznanski's successor I had spoken to you, whether he would undertake the distribution of the equivalent of \$300, among needy rabbis in Galicia and Poland, he, after considerable time informed me that he had not accepted the call, and could, consequently, be of no assistance to me. He suggested Rabbi Dr. W. Gurman, of Lemberg, who in his turn gave me the name of Oberrabbiner Braude in Lemberg, and of his son, Dr. Marcus Braude, Rabbi in Lodz. To the last two rabbis I sent, by registered post, a cheque for £37.7.0, each with covering letters; but as the learned rabbis did not think it necessary to acknowledge the receipt of the cheques, but merely sent them in for collection, and as I

did not know whether their endorsements on the checques were their own signatures, I had, for security, to stop the payment. This will account for the unwelcome delay in the final disposal of the last third of the money. Should no verification of the signatures arrive within the next few weeks I shall have to withdraw the checques altogether, and turn to one of my past students in Galicia, unless you suggest another channel of disposal.

Allow me to thank you personally, and through you the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the timely and welcome help granted to a considerable number of rabbis in distress.

Believe me to remain, dear Dr. Rauch,

Yours very truly,

A. BUECHLER.

A number of circular letters was sent out to the members at large and to the members of the Executive Board relative to the business of the Conference. In compliance with the instructions of the Conference at its last meeting in the adoption of Recommendation IV of the Committee on Synagog Music, (Yearbook 1922, p. 53) the Executive Board set aside Saturday, February 3rd, *Shabbas Shirah*, as a Sabbath of Music, in order to encourage congregational singing. In announcing this date to the members I made the request that all should observe it as far as possible, and also that report should be made by the members, as to results, to the Chairman of the Committee on Synagog Music.

Likewise in compliance with the action of the Conference (*ibid.*, p. 43) I notified the members to send copies of such answers as they may have given in reply to questions put to them by other members or by members of their congregations in regard to ritual matters, to the Chairman of the Committee on Responsa.

A referendum vote by the Conference as to place of meeting brought out a large majority in favor of a quiet summer resort. In obedience to this vote the Executive Board selected Cape May as the place of this meeting. In this connection I wish to express my opinion to the effect that the Conference should hold its next meeting west of the Allegheny Mountains. The past five meetings, including this one, have been held in the East. As long as the Conference has no fixed abode it is but fair that it should seek to accommodate as many members as possible by the selection of its places of meeting.

The letter sent by the Conference to the presidents of congregations, ministered to by the members, requesting that the congregations provide for the expense of their rabbi in his attendance at the meetings of the Conference met with gratifying response. I believe that the number of such congregations is increasing each year. I suggest that the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to secure a list of such congregations to keep on

file. It will serve a number of useful purposes. I am happy to report that in reply to a request made by your President last year to the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College, the Board of Governors has agreed to make provision for the attendance of some of the professors of the college at the Conference meetings. A subvention of \$250 voted by the Executive Board toward the publication of Dr. Lewin's monumental work on the Geonic period and literature has been paid to Dr. Alexander Marx, librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who had consented to act as treasurer for this fund. With the consent of the Executive Board I appointed Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson editor of the Yearbook for the coming year.

I approved the application of Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin, of Charleston, S. C., for a reserve chaplaincy in the U. S. Army. It is a satisfaction to note that quite a number of our members are serving as reserve chaplains in the army.

I sent during the year a number of letters and telegrams of felicitation or sympathy, as the occasion demanded, in the name of the Conference, notably on the observance of the centennial of the birth of Rabbi Sabato Morais, at the death of Rabbis Bernstein, Hirsch, Krauskopf and Mendelsohn, all of which were suitably acknowledged. A particularly happy event was the eightieth birthday celebration of our beloved Honorary President, Dr. Kaufman Kohler. In the name of the Conference I sent the following letter:

To Dr. Kaufman Kohler—Greeting!

Under the grace of God you are passing your 80th milestone upon life's highway. Not only your colleagues, but all Israel, in America and the world over, rejoice with you in the advent of this day which God has made. Particularly your colleagues of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, who look to you with reverential affection, as their honorary president and beloved leader, hail this day with grateful praise, and extend to you their fervent felicitations and loving good wishes.

You have ever been to us an inspiration. Your great scholarship, your noble courage of conviction, your abiding loyalty to fine purpose, your high sense of duty, your undeviating fidelity to the ideal, your constant and serene faith in our fathers' God,—these things are as stars that shine in the firmament of the heavens, leading many to righteousness.

It is with grateful hearts we greet you this day, giving thanks to our Heavenly Father that He hath permitted it to come to pass, and beseeching Him that in His loving grace He may permit us to rejoice again and again upon the recurring anniversaries of your

birth, that for many years He may grant us to have the joy of your presence, the precious boon of your guidance, and the gracious influence of your sweet and gentle spirit.

May it be His sovereign will that, even as Moses of old, you may attain again the half of these years, with eye undimmed and vigor unabated, ere yet you ascend the Pisgah heights of blessed immortality.

Sincerely, lovingly and reverently, in the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, I salute you, our master and teacher, and pray God's further gifts upon your honored head.

EDWARD N. CALISCH,
President.

It has been my policy to have the business of the Conference conducted by the Executive Board as far as possible. But occasions arise which necessitate immediate action and give no time for correspondence for board action. On these occasions I have tried to serve the interest and the honor of the Conference to the best of my ability. In my work I have been ably assisted by the members of the Executive Board and by the officers, and I desire to express my deep appreciation of the ready and effective help and counsel that have been given to me by them. Your secretaries have been diligent and faithful, your treasurer has conserved the material interest of the Conference wisely, and the Chairman of the Publications Committee has done most excellent work. If I may be permitted, I would like to add the name of Dr. Lauterbach, who as Chairman of the Program Committee has labored tirelessly and sagaciously.

It has been an honor and a happiness to have served you.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD N. CALISCH,
President.

The report was received with thanks, and upon motion, was ordered printed in the Yearbook.

The report of the Recording Secretary was read by Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Recording Secretary begs leave to submit the following actions of the Executive Board on the various matters brought before it and for which it asks your approval.

Four meetings of the Executive Board have been held since the last session of the Conference, namely: Cape May, N. J., July 2, 1922; Cincinnati, Ohio, October 31, and November 1, 1922; New York City, January 22, 1923; Cape May, N. J., June 25-26, 1923.

Rabbi Lauterbach, to whom had been referred the matter of translating into English Strack's Introduction to Talmud and Midrash, reported that the matter had been taken up elsewhere, and Dr. Lauterbach was authorized to ascertain how the Conference can help in pushing the project.

It was moved and adopted that the President shall represent the Conference at the general amnesty meeting to be held in the city of Washington, if in his judgment it seems advisable that we have a representative. If he finds that he cannot attend, he was authorized to appoint a substitute. Upon request of the Secretary of the U. A. H. C. that we add two members to the Board of Editors and two to the Tract Commission, the names of Henry Slonimsky and Joseph Rauch were added to the Board of Editors, and Morris Newfield and William H. Fineshriber were added to the representatives on the Tract Commission.

The Chairman of the Publications Committee was authorized to have a special de luxe edition of the Union Prayer Book prepared, a copy to be presented to each member of the Revision Committee.

The Treasurer was authorized to engage a public accountant to audit his books and ascertain what accounts should properly be credited to each of the various funds.

It was further moved and adopted that the books of the Treasurer shall be audited each year by a public accountant.

It was moved and adopted that a sum not to exceed \$500 shall be paid to Mr. Isador Lipton for making the illustrations for the Revised Haggadah, and that a sum not exceeding \$100 be allowed to the Chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Haggadah to defray expenses incurred in the preparation of the book.

It was moved and adopted that a sum not exceeding \$100 be allowed for the use of the Committee on Contemporaneous History for the purchase of books and magazines.

The President was authorized to send a message of greetings to Dr. Kohler in the name of the Conference.

The President was requested to send a message of congratulation to Mr. David A. Brown on his completion of the task of raising \$14,000,000 for the relief of the war sufferers.

The Secretary was authorized to purchase a gift to be presented to the First Presbyterian Church of Cape May, N. J., as a token of appreciation for the use of the church during the session. A silver vase was sent with the inscription: "Presented to the First Presbyterian Church of Cape May, N. J., by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in appreciation

of the courtesy shown in allowing the use of the church for services, July, 1922."

The President was authorized to send in care of Rabbi Rauch the sum of \$1,000 for the relief of the rabbis of Central Europe.

It was moved and adopted that the Auditor's report be printed in the Yearbook, and that all officers of the Conference be notified that they should use the figures found therein as a basis of all accounts. It was further moved and adopted that if necessary, a new set of books be opened and made to conform to the findings of the auditors.

After the printing of the Auditor's report it was found that an error had been made by the auditors and that \$5,000 belonging to the Relief Fund had been credited to the General Fund, and it was moved and carried that this error be corrected in making out all future reports.

It was moved and adopted that the Investment Committee be instructed to invest the securities and funds of the Conference only in gilt edge bonds.

It was moved and adopted upon recommendation of the Publications Committee that the three present styles of binding, namely: cloth, leatherette and leather be continued for the Union Prayer Book. The prices of the new Union Haggadah, cloth, to be fixed at 50 cents; leather \$1.00, and that the same price be fixed for the Book of Meditations and Prayers, with the understanding that all sisterhoods ordering the Book of Meditations and Prayers in lots of 50 or more shall be allowed a discount of 10 per cent. All these prices shall include delivery.

A request from the Secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that he be permitted to reprint a service from the Union Prayer Book for use during the meeting of the Union in New York was granted.

The Secretary was requested to notify Mr. Harry Gideon that as his paper which was read before the last convention of the Conference had already appeared in a magazine, it would not be printed in the Yearbook according to the rules of the Conference. It was moved and adopted that unless papers read at the Conference be sent to the editor of the Yearbook within a reasonable time they shall not be printed in the Yearbook.

It was moved and adopted that the President shall include a paragraph endorsing Dr. Singer's Encyclopedia in the next letter which he sends out to the members of the Conference.

The sum of \$250 from the treasury of the Conference was given to the American Pro-Falasha Committee; the sum of \$500 was allowed the Committee on Social Justice for publicity, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee.

Sabbath Shirah was fixed as the Music Sabbath.

It was moved and adopted that the Chairman of the Committee on Synagog Music be requested to prepare a program suitable for use in synagoggs for the services of that day, and that the President send same to the members of the Conference.

The sum of \$250 was voted to Mr. B. Lewin as a subsidy to assist in the publication of his book on Geonim.

A request for assistance for Arno Nadel for the publication of musical works was referred to the Committee on Synagog Music, with the request that something concrete be worked out as a basis for assisting in the publication of these works.

The report of Rabbi Rauch after the distribution of the \$1,000 sent for the relief of starving rabbis, as well as a letter from Dr. Buechler who attended to the distribution of the money, were read and a vote of thanks was extended Dr. Buechler for his kind assistance.

The President announced that the Conference had been invited to become a member of the National Committee on Motion Pictures and that the invitation had been accepted. The Chairman of the Committee on Social Justice read an invitation asking the Conference to join with the Protestant and Catholic Commissions in studying the facts in regard to the causes of war. It was moved and adopted that the invitation be accepted and that the Conference co-operate with the other organizations with the understanding that the Conference shall have at least four representatives on the Commission. The President ruled that as this work fell within the province of the Social Justice Commission that the Chairman of that Commission shall be authorized to appoint our representatives. A sum not exceeding \$250 was voted to pay the expenses of these representatives for attending the meetings.

It was moved and adopted that the Chairman of the Social Justice Commission shall communicate with Mr. Filene, of Boston, calling his attention to an erroneous statement which he makes in his introduction to Singer's Social Justice when he says that no organized body of Jews had ever drawn up a social justice platform.

It was moved and adopted that only American Securities shall be bought for the Conference.

The President appointed Conference representatives on the General Council and Central Committee of the Palestine Development Council.

General Council: Louis Wolsey, Louis Witt, E. N. Calisch, Abram Hirschberg, Wm. H. Fineshriber.

Central Committee (three years): Isaac Landman, Louis L. Mann; (two years), I. E. Marcuson, Nathan Stern; (one year), Charles S. Levi and Abram Simon.

It was moved and adopted that a statement of protest against the official opposition of the Soviet government to religious education be drawn up and that a committee be appointed to form such a statement of protest to be presented during the session of the Conference.

An invitation from the Vine Street Temple, Nashville, Tenn., asking the Conference to hold its next convention in that city was referred to the Conference for action.

It was moved and adopted that a subsidy of \$150 be given to Michael Guttman, of Breslau, to aid in publishing his *Mofteah La-Talmud*.

A vote of thanks was extended to the McMillan Company for the permission granted to the Publications Committee to use certain poems in the book of Meditations and Prayers.

It was moved and adopted that the responsibility for proof reading shall devolve upon the Chairman of Publications for all future publications of the Conference.

The Publications Committee was authorized to print another edition of the hymnal to consist of 2,000 copies.

It was moved and adopted that the Central Conference of American Rabbis shall contribute the sum of \$500 out of the General Fund to the Rutenberg project. The principal and interest to finally go to the Hebrew University.

It was moved and adopted that the Conference representatives on the Advisory Board be asked to urge the Board of Governors to pay the expenses of all the professors of the Hebrew Union College so that it may be possible for them to attend the conventions of the Conference.

The reports of the various Commissions and Committees were taken up for consideration.

It was moved and adopted that a Committee of the Conference shall be appointed to co-operate with the faculty of Hebrew Union College in formulating plans for the summer school.

It was moved and adopted that the Committee on Arbitration which shall be appointed by the incoming President shall be asked to draw up a code of ethics to govern the relations between rabbi and rabbi, and rabbi and congregation, and congregation and congregation, and that same be submitted to the next Conference for approval.

It was moved and adopted that the attention of the incoming Executive Board shall be called to the recommendation contained in Section 8 of the President's message of last year, wherein it was recommended that a new volume of sermons shall be published, with the further suggestion that the Professor of Homiletics of the Hebrew Union College shall be Chairman of this Committee.

It was further moved and carried that it be recommended to the incoming Executive Board that the Professor of Homiletics of the Hebrew Union College shall be made a member of the Tract Commission, and shall act as editor of the book of holiday sermons.

The following rabbis were elected to membership in the Conference:

Aaronsohn, Michael
Binstock, Louis
Bloch, Joshua
Frankel, Benjamin
Freund, Iser
Kaufman, Max
Mann, Jacob

Nathan, David
Rabinowitz, Samuel A.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Slonimsky, Henry
Stein, Salo
Wolfenson, Louis D.

The resignations of the following rabbis were accepted:

Mannheimer, Leo

Richmond, Harry R.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC E. MARCUSON,
Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was read by Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Corresponding Secretary desires to report the issuance of 250 vouchers, aggregating \$55,755.52.

These vouchers represent expenditures divided as follows:

Transfer of Funds.....	\$ 2,200.00
General Expense	5,218.22
Publication Expense	15,924.28
Pension Expense	32,413.02

The Secretary takes this opportunity to express his grateful appreciation of the co-operation of the President, the Treasurer and the other officers of the Conference in carrying on the work of the office.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE J. WOLF,
Corresponding Secretary.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Treasurer was read by Rabbi Louis Wolsey.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Treasurer's report covers the period from June 11, 1922, to June 11, 1923, which is the customary date of closing the Conference's fiscal year.

The report of our resources shows that the Conference now has \$70,165.78 to its credit, namely \$9,369.58 more than what were its assets last year. These funds, the members will note, are safely invested and yield us an average interest income of about 4.60 per cent. Our securities are mainly invested in long time bonds, which will save succeeding treasurers the responsibility of reinvestment.

From our cash in hand representing \$13,165.78 it is the opinion of the Treasurer that the next Investment Committee should purchase about \$5,000 more of securities. During the coming year, the Conference can anticipate very considerable sales from Volume II of the Revised Edition of the Prayer Book and from the new publication of Book of Meditations and Prayers, which will mean a considerable accession to our resources.

In the judgment of your Treasurer, the Investment Committee is a bit over-conservative in the investment of funds. It has been our prejudice rather than our well-reasoned out conviction during our whole history, that our moneys should be invested in government bonds. The objection to this procedure is that all of these securities are tax free and bear only a low rate of interest, whereas the Conference is tax free and owes it to itself as well as to its pensioners, to increase its income by investing money in such safe and well recognized industrials as would yield us an income of at least 6 per cent. Under the circumstances, there would be no hazarding of our resources, and at the same time we would be able to increase our income to such an extent as to take more generous care of our obligations to the superannuated, the infirm, the widow and the orphan. Our present custom denies us the advantage of our tax exemption.

The special attention of the Conference is also called to the fact that the publication fund represents a net profit of \$10,785.30 for the year.

The Treasurer wishes to call the Conference's special attention to the donations secured from individuals and from congregations and societies, by the Committee on Solicitation of Funds. This Committee, under the chairmanship of Rabbi Lazon, has added to the treasury this year, the sum of \$3,941.18, which is considerably more than this Committee has gathered in previous years.

During the year, the Conference has lost 4 members by death, 2 members by resignation, with an accession of 14 members, giving us a net membership on June 10, 1923, of 277 members.

I wish to report that 221 of our members have paid their dues to date, 43 owe for one year, 7 owe for two years, and 6 members are exempt from dues.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS WOLSEY,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FROM JUNE 11, 1922, TO JUNE 11, 1923

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Receipts

Cash on hand, June 10, 1922.....	\$ 8,296.29	
Dues	1,445.00	
Relief Fund	26,584.52	
Publication	26,709.58	
Interest	3,500.22	
Berlin Hochschule Fund	105.00	
Refund from H. U. C.	80.80	
	<hr/>	\$66,721.41

Disbursements

Publication	\$15,924.28	
Relief Fund	32,163.02	
General Fund	5,268.33	
Hochschule	200.00	
Cash on Hand	13,165.78	
	<hr/>	66,721.41

Cash on Hand

Mutual Building & Investment Co.....	\$ 3,760.31	
Union Savings & Trust Co., Savings Account.....	3,079.58	
Union Savings & Trust Co., Checking Account.....	6,325.89	
	<hr/>	\$13,165.78

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION FUND

Receipts	\$26,709.58	
Disbursements	15,924.28	
	<hr/>	
Balance on hand.....		\$10,785.30

STATEMENT OF DUES

Receipts	\$ 1,445.00	
Transferred one-half to General Fund.....	\$ 722.50	
Transferred one-half to Relief Fund.....	722.50	
	<hr/>	\$ 1,445.00

STATEMENT OF INTEREST

Mutual Building & Investment Co.....	\$ 95.02	
	71.30	
Savings Account, Union Trust Co.....	26.20	
	93.04	
Commercial Account, Union Trust Co.....	65.43	
Liberty Victory	2,395.93	
Cleveland Heights School Bonds.....	180.00	
Port of New Orleans	150.00	
Greenfield Village	333.30	
Garfield Heights Bonds	90.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,500.22	
Transferred to Relief Fund.....		\$ 3,500.22

STATEMENT OF RELIEF FUND

Receipts

On Hand, June 10, 1922.....	\$ 35,995.35	
One-half Dues	722.50	
Interest	3,500.22	
Donations	3,941.18	
Refund on Bonds Purchased and Donation.....	143.34	
	<hr/>	
		\$ 44,302.59

Disbursements

Pension	\$ 2,915.00	
Refund to Tract Fund	10.00	
Bonds Purchased	28,188.02	
Relief European Rabbis	1,000.00	
D. S. Blondheim	50.00	
	<hr/>	
		32,163.02
		<hr/>
		\$ 12,139.57

Securities

Greenfield Village School Bonds	\$ 10,000.00	
Garfield Heights Bonds	3,000.00	
Rocky River Bonds	1,000.00	
Second Liberty Loans	13,000.00	
	<hr/>	
		27,000.00
		<hr/>
Balance on Hand.....		\$ 39,139.57

STATEMENT OF GENERAL FUND

Receipts

On Hand, June 10, 1922:		
Publication	\$ 10,791.80	
One-half Dues	722.50	
	<hr/>	\$ 11,514.30

Disbursements

General Fund	5,268.33	
	<hr/>	5,268.33
		<hr/>
		\$ 6,245.97
Deficit June 10, 1922.....		3,373.64
		<hr/>
On Hand, June 11, 1923.....		\$ 2,872.33

SUMMARY OF FUNDS

Balance on Hand, June 11, 1923:		
Relief Fund	\$ 39,139.57	
Publication Fund	10,785.30	
General Fund	2,872.33	
	<hr/>	\$ 52,797.20

TOTAL RESOURCES

Liberty Bonds—1st Con., 4 1/4.....	\$ 1,000.00
Liberty Bonds—2nd Con., 4 1/4.....	4,000.00
Liberty Bonds—3rd Con., 4 1/4.....	2,000.00
Liberty Bonds—4th Con., 4 1/4.....	18,000.00
Liberty Bonds—2nd Con., 4 1/4.....	13,000.00
Cleveland Heights School Bonds, 6 per cent.....	3,000.00
State of Louisiana, Port of New Orleans, 4 1/2.....	2,000.00
Greenfield Village School Bonds	10,000.00
Garfield Heights Bonds	3,000.00
Rocky River Bonds	1,000.00
Mutual Building & Loan Co.	3,760.31
Union Trust Co., Savings Account	3,079.58
Union Trust Co., Commercial Account	6,325.89
	<hr/>
	\$ 70,165.78

ITEMIZED GENERAL EXPENSE

President's Office	\$ 140.55
Treasurer's Office	149.00
Corresponding Secretary	195.15
Recording Secretary	145.01
Social Justice Commission	707.79
Solicitation of Funds	49.43
Committee on Synagog Music	18.80
Convention	201.92
Executive Board	625.99
Miscellaneous	715.11
P. D. C.	93.50
Committee on Responsa	4.00
Yearbook	1,997.08
Public Auditor	225.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 5,268.33

The report was received with thanks, and referred to the Auditor.

The report of the Committee on Solicitation of Funds was read by Rabbi Lazonon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Solicitation of Funds, begs to submit herewith its report for 1922-23:

When the letters were sent out requesting the usual donations, a number of inquiries were made as to the status of the pension plan suggested some years ago by the Union. Your Committee received the following letter from Mr. Chas. Shohl, explaining the status of the matter:

"I beg to acknowledge your letter of April 26th with reference to the action taken by the Union regarding the Synagog Pension Fund. Some years ago Mr. Jacob H. Schiff gave us the sum of \$100,000 towards a Synagog Pension Fund. Accompanying this gift were certain conditions regarding the investment of the same which pointed to the fact that Mr. Schiff evidently regarded this as a sort of an endowment. Nevertheless with Mr. Schiff's consent the services of an actuary, Mr. S. H. Wolfe, of New York, were engaged for the

purpose of making a study of the problems involved for the purpose of creating a pension fund for superannuated rabbis. Mr. Wolfe's report is contained in the 1919 Yearbook of the Union, page 8459. The plan required the raising of a sum in excess of one and a third million dollars. The plan also contemplated payments by the congregations or the rabbis.

It was felt that the sum was so great as to make it impossible for execution at that time. When the matter was brought up at the meeting of the Executive Board of the Union one of the members suggested that it would be easier to provide a method of purchasing annuities and pensions for superannuated rabbis from one of the large insurance companies. The report was therefore referred to a Sub-Committee, which has handed in a number of reports. Some of our members of the Executive Board are connected with insurance organizations and gave us the benefit of their advice in this matter.

I am sending you the Yearbooks containing all the reports made by this Committee including the last report. Please note that on page four of this report the following resolution was adopted after the report was discussed:

'Resolved, That the report be recommitted to the Sub-Committee with the request that a list of the rabbis who would be affected by the Synagog Pension Fund and their salaries be tabulated; this supplementary report to be presented to the next meeting of the Executive Board.'

I understand that Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, turned the whole matter over to Dr. Stolz. I am not in a position to say whether he has solicited the information requested by the Executive Board.

In view of the tremendous sums required I think I am expressing the views of the Executive Board correctly when I say that the matter will perforce have to be treated as a relief problem for the present. When the financial situation clears it may be possible to undertake the subject from the point of view of a pension proposition.

Meanwhile the money given by Mr. Schiff and the interest that has accrued on same, together with gifts received from time to time now amounts to \$132,000.00.

With kindest personal regards, I beg to remain,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES SHOHL,
President."

Your Committee believes (1) in view of the statement of the President

of the Union that "the matter will have to be treated as a relief problem for the present," and (2) in view of the growing demands made upon our Pension Fund that interest from the \$132,000.00 now in possession of the Union should be turned over to the Conference Pension fund, pending such time as the whole matter shall be placed upon a stable foundation, and recommends that steps be taken to this end.

We are very glad to report that the collections this year amount to \$4,111.18—\$875.00 was collected through Rabbi Wolsey's office before the books were mailed to the Committee, and \$45.00 after the books were mailed. Total amount collected by the Committee, \$3,191.18.

We append herewith list of contributors.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS S. LAZARON, *Chairman*,
DAVID ALEXANDER,
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER,
SIDNEY S. TEDESCHÉ.

The report was received with thanks and referred to the Auditor.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO RELIEF FUND

Alabama—

Montgomery—Cong. of Montgomery	\$ 100.00
Selma—Cong. Mishkan Israel	10.00
Birmingham—Temple Emanu-El	25.00
Mobile—Cong. Shaarei Shomayim	10.00

California—

San Francisco—Philip Anspacher	10.00
Sherith Israel Cong.	25.00
Emanu-El	10.00
Los Angeles—Misc. sent by Rabbi Magnin.....	2.00
Misc. sent by Rabbi Magnin.....	5.00
G. Mosbacher	20.00
A. Rifkind	5.00
B'nai B'rith Sunday School	10.00
J. Lowenstine	5.00
Stockton—Mrs. M. S. Arndt	5.00

Connecticut—

Bridgeport—Cong. B'nai Israel	25.00
New Haven—Isaac M. Ullman	5.00

District of Columbia—

Washington—Washington Hebrew Cong.	25.00
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Florida—

Jacksonville—Temple Ahavath Chesed 92.00

Georgia—

Atlanta—Hebrew Benevolent Cong. 25.00

Macon—Mrs. Frank Happ 10.00

Illinois—

Chicago—Kehiloth Anshe Mayriv 25.00

Temple Shalom Religious School 25.00

Temple Shalom 25.00

B'nai Shalom—Temple Israel 50.00

Galesburg—Elise Nirdlinger 5.00

Peoria—Cong. Anshe Emeth 25.00

Springfield—Rabbi Sol Landman 5.00

Mrs. I. A. Feffer 10.00

Mrs. Sophie Ensel 2.00

L. J. Samuels 5.00

Belle Karon 3.00

Mollie Broida 2.50

Serita Broida 2.50

Mary Benjamin Fund (Mrs. E. I. Lilienstein,
Treasurer) 10.00

F. M. Feffer 10.00

Mrs. F. M. Feffer 5.00

Indiana—

Indianapolis—Isaac A. Lewis 5.00

G. A. Efroymson 25.00

Lebanon—Phil Adler 10.00

Mt. Vernon—Mt. Vernon Temple Sisterhood..... 2.50

Terre Haute—Temple Israel 10.00

Wabash—Rodeph Shalom 10.00

Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society..... 5.00

Iowa—

Davenport—Cong. B'nai Israel 25.00

Kentucky—

Louisville—Bernard Bernheim 25.00

Jacob Blum (for father's estate, sinking fund).... 200.00

Louisiana—

New Orleans—Toura Synagog 25.00

Maryland—

Baltimore—Baltimore Hebrew Cong. 243.33

Mrs. Simon Dalsheimer (in memory of her father) 100.00

Isaac Davidson 25.00

Mrs. J. Shoeneman 10.00

Mrs. Betsy Rosenheim 1.00

	Cong. Oheb Sholem	93.81
	Isaac Frank	20.00
	David Kemper	10.00
	Henry Oppenheimer	10.00
<i>Massachusetts—</i>		
	Boston—Temple Israel	50.00
	Misc. (sent by Rabbi Levi)	5.00
	Misc. (sent by Rabbi Levi)	10.00
	Temple Ohabei Shalom	50.00
<i>Minnesota—</i>		
	Minneapolis—Isaac Weil	5.00
	Temple Israel	25.00
	Sisterhood	25.00
<i>Mississippi—</i>		
	Natchez—Cong. Bene Israel	100.00
	Vicksburg—Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society.....	10.00
	Cong. Anshe Chesed	20.00
<i>Missouri—</i>		
	St. Louis—Cong. Shaare Emeth	50.00
<i>Nebraska—</i>		
	Omaha—Cong. of Israel	10.00
<i>New Jersey—</i>		
	Newark—Louis Schlesinger	5.00
	Con. B'nai Jeshurun	50.00
<i>New York—</i>		
	Buffalo—August Keiser	10.00
	New York—Ludwig Vogelstein	50.00
	Louis Marshall	50.00
	Chas. E. Bloch	25.00
	Mrs. J. B. Bloomingdale	5.00
	Carl Rosenberger	25.00
	Max Kalter	25.00
	Henry Morganthau	50.00
	Henry M. Toch	25.00
	Henry Rosenblatt	50.00
	Temple Beth El	50.00
	Rochester—Cong. Berith Kodesh	25.00
	Henry E. Kirstein	25.00
<i>Ohio—</i>		
	Bellaire—Cong. Sons of Israel	25.00
	Cincinnati—B. Falkenstein	5.00
	Henry Jonap	10.00
	Cong. Ahabath Achim	10.00
	Jacob W. Mack	10.00

COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

35

Cleveland—Euclid Ave. Temple	50.00
Gus Bamberger	10.00
Sol Reinthal	10.00
M. Halle	10.00
Charles Eisenman	25.00
Columbus—Fred Lazarus, Jr.	25.00
Dayton—Cong. B'nai Yeshurun	10.00
Hamilton—Felix Kahn	5.00
Toledo—Cong. Shomer Emunim	25.00
Youngstown—Clarence J. Strauss	15.00
<i>Oregon—</i>	
Portland—J. Shenanski	10.00
Benjamin Selling	50.00
<i>Pennsylvania—</i>	
Braddock—Braddock Lodge, No. 515, I. O. B. B.....	5.00
Philadelphia—Albert Wolf	10.00
Cong. Rodeph Shalom	25.00
Pittsburgh—Cong. Rodef Shalom	100.00
Marcus Rauh	25.00
Reading—Edmund Kaufman	25.00
Max Luria	25.00
David Rabinovitch	25.00
Grotta & Schneeberger	20.00
David Harris	20.00
Sigmund Schweriner	10.00
Wm. Bash	10.00
Jonas Epstein	10.00
Nathan P. Cohen	10.00
Harold Israel	10.00
Leo J. Sondheim	10.00
Nathan Holzman	10.00
F. Stern	10.00
Sisterhood	10.00
Wilkesbarre—Sisterhood B'nai B'rith	15.00
Ladies' Aid Society.....	15.00
<i>Rhode Island—</i>	
Providence—Marian L. Misch	5.00
<i>Tennessee—</i>	
Memphis—Cong. Children of Israel	25.00
Congregation Emanu-El	15.00
<i>Texas—</i>	
Dallas—Congregation Emanu-El	50.00
Houston—Hebrew Cong. Beth El	50.00

Virginia—

Harrisonburg—Bernard Bloom	5.00
Richmond—Cong. Beth Ahabah	100.00

West Virginia—

Charleston—Hebrew Educational Soc.	10.00
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Wisconsin—

Appleton—Louis J. Marshall	5.00
Milwaukee—Cong. B'nai Jeshurun	25.00
Max Landauer	10.00
Miscellaneous Contribution	5.00

The report of the Committee on Book of Meditations and Prayers was read by Rabbi Freehof.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOOK OF MEDITATIONS AND PRAYERS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Committee on Book of Meditations and Prayers begs to report that in accordance with the decision of the Conference of last year a book containing fifty themes has been completed. Manuscript copies of the book had been sent to the members of the Conference during the past year with the result that a number of valuable suggestions were received by the Committee.

The book has now been printed and measures have been adopted by the Publications Committee for its distribution.

The Committee wishes to thank all members of the Conference who have been kind enough to give it their help and encouragement.

SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, *Chairman*,
ISRAEL BETTAN,
ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
MORRIS S. LAZARON,
ABRAM SIMON.

The report was received and adopted and a vote of thanks of the Conference was tendered to the Committee and it was moved that a special de luxe edition of the prayer book be prepared by the Publications Committee and a copy presented to each member of the Committee.

Rabbi Ettelson: Has it definitely been decided that the book of Meditations and Prayers shall have as its title, "Blessing and Praise?"

Rabbi Marcuson: The book is out.

Rabbi Ettelson: That name doesn't carry upon its face anything that suggests its content, and if the title itself had been a particularly happy one instead of a forbidding one, then one might find a justification for it, but for me "Blessing and Praise" is altogether abstract and I think unfortunate and I hope the next edition, even though we may lose some of the value of the first edition, may have the title changed.

Rabbi Freehof: Mr. Chairman, the title "Blessing and Praise" has this advantage: it is based upon the verse, "Every day I will bless Thee and praise Thy name forever and ever." We carefully selected the title to carry out that idea because it is a book, parts of which we hope will be read every day. We had a lot of difficulty about getting a proper title. We tried a half dozen. We have, however, as a sub-title, "A Book of Meditations and Prayers for Home and Private Devotion." We wanted to have the title characteristic. The old books of devotion used to be called *Tehinnoth*. That was generally descriptive but wouldn't mean anything to us today. People get used to a title. I suppose when the Union Prayer Book was first so named, people wondered at that, too. I don't see anything wrong with that title. All I can say is, we didn't take it hastily; we thought about it and studied it.

Rabbi Ettelson: I did not at all imply that the Committee had acted without giving the matter careful thought, but none the less I feel that some of the objections may be not only natural but justifiable. The fact that it is based on biblical phrases is certainly nothing against it, but does not necessarily as such justify it when you have to give an explanation. Many of us find it difficult, occasionally, to preach to congregations that haven't the background of Midrash, which in itself requires so much explanation that half of your sermon goes into preparing for your illustration.

It seems to me that no matter what the religious views may be, other than those in the minds of scholars and rabbis, it defeats its own purpose when you are appealing to the laity, and I feel

that since it is to be a book of meditations and prayers for our people, it ought to have a title that in itself suggests that fact and we do not want any literary felicitousness about it. I feel that the Committee ought to be actuated by purpose, rather than by tradition and biblical quotation.

Rabbi Marcuson: I wish to explain to Dr. Ettelson that when the manuscript was first sent in the same objection was raised. As soon as I notified our selling agent that the book was to be called "Book of Meditations and Prayers," he wrote back and said that there is already a book with that exact title on the market and it would cause endless confusion. So we compromised. We put "Blessing and Praise" and right under it "A Book of Meditations and Prayers." It would have caused confusion to have two books on the market with exactly the same title and so this will at least be a distinctive feature in the title.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was read by Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Though conditions throughout the country during the past year prognosticated that there would be much legislation of a sectarian character, it proved to be a most successful year to us and to that great mass of American citizenship opposed to sectarian legislation. Every single effort that came to the attention of your Committee to change the non-sectarian character of our public schools by the introduction of Bible reading and similar exercises into the schools failed of successful outcome.

In the State of Missouri the "Convention to revise the Missouri Code" had before it the clause that would make Bible reading in the public schools part of its public school system. Judge A. B. Frey who was actively engaged in opposing this measure called upon the Anti-Defamation League for assistance and was referred, by them, to our Committee. We speedily furnished Judge Frey with many copies of our pamphlet, "*Why the Bible Should Not be Read in the Public Schools,*" and entered into communication with him as to the method of procedure. The objectionable clause was not inserted in the Revised Code of Missouri.

In January a determined effort was made in the State of Texas to induce the State Legislature to pass a bill to make Bible reading in the public

schools compulsory. The bill had powerful backing. Protests sent by the sections of the Council of Jewish Women and State Sisterhoods and individual rabbis made their influence felt and the bill failed to go through.

A similar bill was introduced in April in the State Legislature of Florida and under the leadership of Rabbi Israel L. Kaplan the forces opposed to this measure were able to bring about its defeat.

About the same time a similar bill was introduced into the Legislature of West Virginia. Through the efforts of our local representatives as well as those of the B'nai B'rith opposition was developed that caused the failure of the passage of the bill.

The same thing happened in the State of Ohio, where the Buchanan bill providing for compulsory Bible reading and supported by church organizations and the Ku Klux Klan was defeated.

It is worth while noting that the First Appellate District Court, Division No. 2, of California, on October 21st, 1922, rendered the decision that the English Bible is a sectarian book and therefore cannot be used in the public schools.

In all these cases the Conference pamphlet, *"Why the Bible Should Not be Read in the Public Schools,"* was extensively used, being sent to each member of State Legislatures that had what was considered dangerous sectarian bills before them.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman*,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
JACOB H. KAPLAN,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
JOSEPH RAUCH.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on the Falashas was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FALASHAS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on the Falashas found it desirable early in the fall to unite in a joint endeavor with all other agencies interested in this cause, instead of working by itself. The efforts of the Chairman of the Conference Committee to call into being a joint committee met with hearty response from the United Synagog and the Council of Jewish Women. Moral and financial support was also received from the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and from the Women's League of the United Synagog. An organization was effected under the name of

the American Pro-Falasha Committee, with an Executive Board on which there are a large number of Central Conference members. The organization, despite persistent efforts, could not secure a representative layman to head it. The Chairman of the Conference Committee consented to act as chairman of the organization for a brief period.

As the result of a national appeal made by the Committee under the direction of Rabbi J. Max Weis, to congregations, women's organizations, lodges, religious schools, etc., \$17,548.59 has been raised up to date. This does not include \$7,500 appropriated by the Joint Distribution Committee as an initial fund. The Falasha cause, therefore, has had at its disposal this year a total of \$25,048.59. The expenditures have been \$1,834.12 for conducting the campaign and \$1,343.07 for maintaining an office including a stenographer, rent and telephone for a period of 9 months. We are getting along without a stenographer now, and are not charged any rent at present, though we maintain the same address.

The program of activities in Abyssinia includes the expansion of the school in the interior, and its branches, conducted under the supervision of a pupil of Dr. Faitlovitch trained in Palestine and the establishment of a normal and elementary school at the capital, Addis Abeba, to be directed by another pupil of Dr. Faitlovitch also educated in Palestine. Dr. Faitlovitch is now in Abyssinia engaged in carrying the program into execution.

A definite budget has been formulated. Dr. Faitlovitch and his assistants are adhering scrupulously to this budget. All appropriations are scrutinized and must be authorized by our Committee. The budget, together with a financial statement, will be printed and distributed soon.

Your Chairman will find it impossible, because of lack of time, to continue to serve as Acting Chairman of the American Pro-Falasha Committee and has already notified the Executive Board of the organization to that effect.

Your Committee is pleased to report that there is a movement on foot, headed by Dr. Israel Abrahams of Cambridge University, to organize a committee in England to co-operate with our American Committee. It is the intention of the English group to send a distinguished Jewish anthropologist from England to Abyssinia to supplement the findings of Dr. Faitlovitch and to lend aid to the Falashas.

Your Committee desires to express its great satisfaction with the effective and pleasant team-work done in this co-operative endeavor in behalf of our neglected brethren in Abyssinia. We earnestly recommend that the Conference continue its hearty participation with the other national bodies in this cause.

EPHRAIM FRISCH, *Chairman*,
SAMUEL S. COHON,
ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN,
SOLOMON FOSTER,
JAMES G. HELLER,

ABRAM HIRSCHBERG,
NATHAN KRASS,
MORRIS S. LAZARON,
MARTIN A. MEYER,
WILLIAM ROSENAU.

The report was received and the recommendation contained therein was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Revision of the Haggadah was read by Rabbi Cohon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF UNION HAGGADAH

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with your sentiments and with the instruction of your Executive Board, the Committee on the Revision of the Haggadah, added a miscellany of historical nature to the text that it submitted at the last Conference, and engaged the services of Mr. Isadore Lipton to prepare the drawings. The standards by which he was guided in his work are set forth in this letter that he submitted to your Chairman, on September 7, 1922:

"Rabbi Samuel Cohon:

My dear Rabbi: My illustrations for the Union Haggadah being now completed I want to thank you and, through you, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the golden opportunity afforded me by this commission.

In the preliminary studies that I pursued in preparation for the work I discovered that the Haggadah had been interestingly illustrated in the past. What faults those illustrations possess are the faults of all book illustrations up to the last few decades. Book illustration as an art is quite recent. It has waited upon and kept pace with the progress of the crafts of the photographer and the engraver. Until very recently the artists' work was invariably lost in the crude process of reproduction. Today there is no longer any excuse for crudity in book illustration. The Haggadah, in many ways the most interesting book of Jewish ritual, the illustrating of which is sanctioned by eight hundred years of Jewish tradition, should not suffer by comparison with other religious books of its time: That it does not—that it has been given the attention that is due it—is due entirely to the commendable foresight and generosity of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and, may I say it?—to your unflagging effort. Your suggestions have been of real practical value, many of the drawings being, you will remember, the stuff of your own imagination. It has been my good fortune to be acquainted with the available material of Haggadah illustration. The antiquities have been the subject of my studies for several years. Wherever possible I have been at considerable pains to employ authentic materials. The instruments of music in the hands of the musicians that march across the pages of the Hallel are, so far as modern historical

science can prove it, the harps and horns that together with the voices of His worshipers praised the Lord in His holy Temple three thousand years ago.

The temple scenes presented an interesting but perplexing problem. The architecture of the first temple is a matter of unlimited dispute. When historians disagree it would ill become an artist to arbitrate the issue. Hence, you will note that I have employed the restorations offered by the two principal contenders, Chipiez and Stade. I trust that this will prove a satisfactory solution of the problem, and that in my desire to sit on two stools at the same time I have not fallen between both. For the rest—the Egyptian details and decorations, the costumes of the figures, the initial letters and the *Hād Gadyo*—I pray for your forbearance and your catholicity of taste. There have been questions of policy and taste, but always I have met with the greatest tolerance and helpfulness on your part, so that I feel that our pleasant association in the execution of the work has been all too brief.

Finally I wish to express my deep gratitude for the generous treatment I have met with in my relations with your organization. I wish to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your check for \$500.00 in payment for my services. It is my hope that the same care you have lavished on the text and the illustrations be expended on the engraving and the printing to the end that American Jewry shall find in the Union Haggadah a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. Good white paper—preferably a parchment finish and neat durable binding will complete a thoroughly modern and delightful volume. In illustrating the Haggadah, you have followed a beautiful tradition. It is the hope of many that the Central Conference of American Rabbis may yet *create* traditions for others to follow. Much of the literature of our people—poetic as well as didactic—is rich in illustrative material and still awaits brush and pen. May it be your vision and your will to add new triumphs of the book-makers' art to the libraries of Jewry.

I am your obedient servant,

ISADORE LIPTON."

That he has carried out his task with marked success is evident to all who have seen the book. Artists and laymen alike have lavished high praise upon it. It will, doubtless, add to the joyousness of the Seder service. He merits the gratitude of our Conference.

Your Committee further extends its thanks to Rabbi Jacob Singer for assisting in the selection of some of the musical settings and for reading the music proofs.

Due to the efforts of Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson the book appeared shortly before Pesah. Because of certain difficulties which he will detail in his report, only two thousand copies were printed. The whole edition was sold out and numerous orders had to be left unfilled. A number of colleagues have been generous in conveying their sentiments of approval of the Haggadah. Among them are: Horace Wolf, Harvey E. Wessel, Leon Fram, S. Felix Mendelsohn, Ephraim Frisch, Henry Cohen, David Lefkowitz, Harold F. Reinhart, Louis L. Mann, Rudolph I. Coffee, Edward N. Calisch, Henry Englander, Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Abba Hillel Silver and Julian Morgenstern. The letter of Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, the editor of the first Union Haggadah, may serve as a summary of the views expressed by several colleagues. Under the date of April 9, 1923, he writes:

"Rabbi Samuel Cohon, Chicago.

Dear Colleague and Friend: Let me congratulate you on the success of the Revised Haggadah. It is a real achievement in every way. Whatever may have been the doubts and criticisms expressed by me in my correspondence with you on receiving the "proofs"—I am free to say all have disappeared through the admirable manner in which you have worked out the details of the whole service, and the thorough scholarly and frank manner in which you have elucidated the whole subject.

The illustrations are a delight to my heart. Please tell the artist that they are received with acclaim by all to whom I show them. I was glad to see that you have included so fine a rendition of 'Ki Lo Noeh'—'Our Souls We Raise in Fervent Praise.' Whose translation? It is the only one you failed to cite on pages 158-9.

When you get out another edition insist on wider margins to the pages. The fine illustrations ought not to be marred by lack of ample space. It will add greatly to enhancing the book."

Your Committee trusts that it will be possible to embody the suggestions of Rabbi Berkowitz and of other colleagues to improve the appearance of the book through better paper and finer covers.

Your Committee has regarded the task of adapting the traditional Passover ritual to the religious standards of modern Reform Judaism as a real privilege. For the opportunity of producing the new ritual, whereby the Jewish spirit may be stimulated in the hearts of men and women of our day, we, the members of the Committee, herewith express our gratitude to you.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL S. COHON, *Chairman*,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
GERSON B. LEVI,
WILLIAM ROSENAU.

The report was received and adopted and a vote of thanks of the Conference was tendered to the Revision Committee, and it was moved that a special de luxe edition of the Haggadah be prepared by the Publications Committee and a copy presented to each member of the Revision Committee.

The report of the Committee on Summer School was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SUMMER SCHOOL

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Summer School begs leave to report that in view of the appended communication relative to the establishment of a summer school, which the Chairman of the Committee received from the President of the Hebrew Union College in consequence of the Chairman's conference with him, your Committee feels that the purpose for which it was created being practically accomplished, the *raison d'être* for a Committee on Summer School ceases, and therefore recommends that this Committee be discharged.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY ENGLANDER, *Chairman*,
LOUIS A. MISCHKIND,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
MAXWELL SILVER,
ABRAM SIMON.

May 28, 1923.

Rev. Dr. Henry Englander,
Chairman, Committee on Summer School,
Central Conference of American Rabbis,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Englander: In accordance with our conversation, I beg to inform you that plans for the inauguration of a summer school at the Hebrew Union College in the summer of 1925, after the opening of the new college dormitory have been submitted by me to the Board of Governors of the College, and have been referred by the Board to a special committee for investigation and report.

I am very hopeful that the action recommended by this Committee and taken by the Board will be favorable, and that this summer school will begin its work as has been said, in the summer of 1925.

I believe that this will correspond fully with the plans that the Conference had in mind, and for the maturing of which your Committee was

created. May I ask you, therefore, to bring this matter through your Committee to the attention of the Conference.

With warmest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
President.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Publications Committee was read by Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In submitting to you the report of the Publications Committee I can but repeat what has been said repeatedly that the work of this Committee upon which depends the very life of the Conference for its finances is assuming such proportions that sooner or later it must be put into the hands of a secretary who can devote to it all of his time. It is well nigh impossible for a rabbi unless he neglect the work of his community to give to this work the attention which its importance merits. A mere enumeration of the publications seen through the press during the past year will be sufficient, I am sure, to convince any one that the work has grown to enormous proportions. Volume II revised was finally finished and distributed; the new Haggadah was set up, plated and published, the new Book of Meditations and Prayers was finished and distributed, and Volume I revised is being reset to match Volume II revised. In addition to these new publications a new edition of Volume I revised; two editions of Volume II unrevised, a new printing of Volume II revised were seen through the press. A new edition of practically every publication of the Conference was issued during the year.

In this connection your Chairman would call attention to a condition of affairs that needs correction at the hands of either the Conference or the Executive Board. When a new publication is planned and the committee in charge has finished its work, the manuscript is turned over to the Executive Board for action. The usual course has been—and rightly—to refer the manuscript to the Publications Committee for printing. This Committee which handles all the business of the Conference can and should alone be authorized to make contracts for printing, but your Chairman does not believe that the Chairman of the Publications Committee should also be required to read all the proof and do all the mechanical work involved in the composition and getting out of new books. Your Chairman has no

suggestion to offer as to how this difficulty can be solved and he has gladly assumed the burden because there was no one else on to whose shoulders he could shift it but he believes that the Chairman of the Publications Committee has enough to do handling the details of publications without being expected to do the additional work involved in getting out new publications.

UNION PRAYER BOOK, VOLUME I.

An edition of Volume I revised of 15,000 copies was printed during the year and will be sufficient to fill our needs until the book can be reset and plated. The present plates have been used for five years and it was considered advisable to match the type used in Volume II revised which was set by the Jewish Publication Society.

UNION PRAYER BOOK, VOLUME II.

According to the resolution of the last Conference, another printing consisting of 5,000 copies of Volume II unrevised has been ordered. These books will last for a year or two and serve to fill in until all congregations adopt the revised book.

Another printing of Volume II, revised has been ordered and the books will be ready to be delivered about July 1st. This printing consisting of 25,000 copies should more than meet the needs of this year for the revised book. Should the sales exceed expectation another printing can be made before the Holy Days.

UNION HYMNAL

The present edition is practically exhausted and unless the Committee on Revision of Union Hymnal has a definite proposal, your Committee recommends another edition of the old Hymnal in time for the fall opening of religious schools. Your Committee has received many inquiries in regard to the revision of this book and should the Committee contemplate no drastic changes, it would be well to definitely say so for many schools and congregations are refraining from buying the book on account of the belief that the Conference will issue a revised hymnal.

The paper bound edition of words only is about exhausted and your Committee does not recommend a new printing. The Committee recommends, however, that about 250 copies of this edition be withdrawn from sale to be used by the Conference at its conventions.

MINISTERS' HAND BOOK

The sale of the Ministers' Hand Book has been very limited and the present stock will last for several years.

REVISED UNION HAGGADAH

The Revised Union Haggadah appeared in time for last Pesach, after many delays. It would be useless now to repeat the many difficulties which were encountered in the publication of this work, but the experience of the Committee was but a repetition of what was encountered with other books and it is a mistake to try to rush a book through in a limited time. The work was entrusted to the Jewish Publication Society and for some reason or other unknown to your Committee their service is endlessly slow. The plates were not turned over to the printer until three weeks before Passover although they were given the manuscript the September previous. When the printer received the plates he found much of the music in such unfortunate condition that he wired the Chairman of your Committee advising not to use the beautiful paper which had been contemplated but to run out an edition on cheap paper to satisfy the immediate needs of the approaching festival and leave the final printing of the book until the plates could be repaired. Your Chairman agreed to this arrangement and an edition of two thousand copies was printed with the consent of the President of the Conference with the understanding that the Conference would replace these books should it be necessary. With the exception of the imperfections on music plates, the book is a real work of art and with the correction of these imperfections and the publication of the book on good paper your Committee feels that the Conference will have made a real contribution to the illustrated Haggadahs of the past.

BOOK OF MEDITATIONS AND PRAYERS

This volume to be known under the title, Blessing and Praise, has just appeared and will satisfy, we hope, the wish of the women for a book for private meditation. This book was prepared at the earnest request of a Committee from the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods who appeared before the Executive Board and stated that there was an urgent need for a book of this character among the Jews of America. The present book was issued for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it will meet the needs of the Sisterhoods. Should it do so, the Committee is ready to go ahead with the preparation of a larger book of the same character. At the last meeting of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods a resolution was introduced and carried pledging the co-operation of the Sisterhoods in the disposition of the book. After earnest consideration and consultation with the President of the Conference, your Chairman fixed the price of the book at the nominal sum of fifty cents for the cloth edition and one dollar for the leather edition—both prices including delivery. An additional discount of ten per cent was offered to Sisterhoods buying the book in quantities of fifty or more. The purpose was to secure the largest

possible distribution of the book rather than to make any money on the publication. Your Committee hopes that the Conference will approve of this decision and establish this price at least until the first edition is sold. In this connection your Committee wishes to report that the Committee in preparing the book found it desirable to use translations of medieval Jewish authors which were found in other books. Permission to use poems from their publications was kindly granted by the McMillan Company and the thanks of the Conference should be extended to this firm. George Routledge & Son from one of whose volumes a few poems were wanted refused to grant permission without the payment of royalty. At the advice of the President of the Conference the amount asked was paid and permission was secured.

Your Committee hopes that every member of the Conference will feel a personal obligation to urge the purchase of this book among the members of his congregation.

Your Committee desires further to bring to the attention of the members of the Conference the desirability of ordering books in time. If the activities of the Conference are to continue and if your Publications Committee shall be expected to supply the money for these activities it cannot afford to tie up most of the funds of the Conference in large editions which shall lie unsold from year to year. If the members would place their orders for the Prayer Books for the Fall Holy Days or for Haggadahs which are the two occasional books of the Conference in advance every order would be promptly filled. This year the order for books, many of them coming in at the last moment, were more than double the number ever sold before. Had the orders come in time more books could have been printed and all needs filled. We therefore urge that congregations desiring to introduce the revised Volume II should place their order during the summer. We have already several orders consisting of a thousand and fifteen hundred copies and of course these will be readily filled. Your Committee feels that it would be less hardship for congregations to carry over a few dozen books than for the Conference to have thousands of dollars invested in books which would not sell for a year. Our funds are so limited that it is absolutely necessary that we keep our stock at the very lowest possible point.

Your Chairman desires to thank the President of the Conference for whole hearted co-operation with the Committee and Rabbi Clifton H. Levy for help rendered to the Chairman.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC E. MARCUSON, *Chairman*,
MAX C. CURRICK,
BARNETT A. ELZAS,
CLIFTON H. LEVY,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

Upon motion, the report was received and adopted.

Rabbi Rosenau: In my congregation, after we had distributed the new edition, people asked the question, "What shall we do with the copies of the earlier edition?" Our sexton collected all the copies of the previous edition and awaits now what orders he is to receive with respect to distribution or disposition of them. I should like to make this suggestion to this Conference: That all the copies of the earlier edition that the congregations are willing to part with be sent somewhere, to be designated a depository of our organization, and that these copies be then used in penal and charitable institutions. I believe a letter ought to go out from the office of this organization to the members of the Conference telling them that if they have within their possession, or in the possession of their congregations, copies of the former edition, please send them to a certain depository and they will be distributed among penal institutions and philanthropic organizations.

It was moved and adopted that the report of the Committee on President's Message be a special order for Friday afternoon, immediately after luncheon.

It was moved and adopted that greetings be sent Rabbis Kohler and Berkowitz, wishing the latter speedy recovery to health and strength.

The Conference adjourned.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference reassembled at 3 P. M.

The report of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Franklin.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS WORK IN UNIVERSITIES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The report of this Committee as submitted from year to year must of necessity be more or less of the same tenor. With the limited means at our disposal to carry on our work, we can at best visualize our problem but scarcely attempt to solve it in a large way. In some

senses, the situation of the Jewish student in this country as well as in other countries, has become more acute during the past year. The Harvard incident though happily concluded, has left a fairly unpleasant taste in many mouths. It served to bring to the surface certain prejudices that had been latent and it gave a measure of encouragement to some within the universities whose feeling toward the Jew had not been one of friendliness but who had not had the courage to give overt expression to their prejudices.

On the other hand, it served to arouse many leaders in the educational field to the danger that lurks in a prejudicial attitude toward any particular group of students and we cannot fail to appreciate the fine and courageous stand taken by the Chancellor of Syracuse University and other institutions of learning, when in one form or another the problem was presented to them.

To the Jews themselves, the Harvard incident is not without its motivations. We must fearlessly face the fact that the Jew in college must expect to win his way not merely by brilliancy of achievement in his academic work but that, in addition to this, he must be a man of sound morals and of manners that cannot be construed as offensive. It is not the province of this report to discuss in detail the problem of the Jew in our universities. But it does seem proper to stress the fact that with him as with all of us, a proper appreciation of the social conventions is exceedingly desirable.

Our work in the universities to be at all adequate should cover a somewhat comprehensive field. Since we Jews represent above all else a religious group, any attempt to reach the Jewish student that does not attack the problem from the standpoint of religion, must be unavailing. It is therefore gratifying to report that larger efforts than ever heretofore, have during the past year been made along this particular line. In a number of universities, new student congregations have been established and where they have heretofore existed, they have in almost every instance been continued and strengthened. Many of the members of this Conference have preached before student bodies at the universities and practically every congregation situated near a great seat of learning has not only opened its doors in welcome to the students but has made aggressive efforts to interest them in Jewish work.

In the furtherance of this work, the Department of Synagog and School Extension has assisted by subsidizing in whole or in part a number of student congregations. However, the time has definitely come, we believe, when if our work in the universities is to be really telling, it must be more systematically organized and more aggressively carried on. An occasional service and sermon for the students may stimulate them for the moment but it will not permanently deepen their Jewish consciousness. Neither will the spasmodic visits of some nearby rabbi. Neither will a service conducted each week by a different minister who arrives on the scene immediately before the service and leaves on the next train.

What we require is that at our great universities, there shall be resident rabbis whose contact with the students shall be constant and who shall have a general supervision over all activities on the campus that are distinctively Jewish. We believe that a great effort ought to be put forth at this time to create a fund out of which rabbis resident in our university centers might be compensated. Some of these men while taking charge of the student activities might take post-graduate courses leading to higher academic degrees. After all, in some of our university centers, there are far more Jewish men and women during ten months of the year than there are in large numbers of the smaller towns and cities that regularly support a congregation and a rabbi.

And these men and women in the universities—I make the assertion very boldly—need more than the others, the steadying and inspiring influence of religious leadership. More than that, given the inspiration that they ought to have during their student years, they will become the lay leaders of the Jewish life of the various communities into which they pass after their graduation.

We might give you statistical tables of services held in the various universities during this year. We might tell you of the accomplishments of this or that member of our Committee and of other rabbis. We might tell you of special programs that have been prepared during the year for student day exercises by a considerable number of the congregations throughout the land. We might record the generous interest that has been taken in student welfare by the Sisterhoods and by the various sections of the Council of Jewish Women, but all of these efforts—splendid and significant as they undoubtedly are—do not and cannot touch the crux of our problem. We need—we repeat it—systematic, organized, aggressive work in our universities under the experienced leadership of men trained to their task.

That this may be accomplished or indeed that a beginning may be made toward that end, there is need of a close co-operation among all the various agencies that are interested in religious and welfare work among Jewish students. Among such organizations, we think in particular of the Menorah Society, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Synagogue, the Jewish Chautauqua Society, and of course this Conference. There may be other societies, too, to whom our problem is one of vital concern. It is especially gratifying to us, therefore, to advise you that under date of June 11th, the Chairman of this Committee has received an official communication from Mr. Henry Hurwitz, Chancellor of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association which reads as follows:

“The Intercollegiate Menorah Association has for some time been thinking of the advisability of inviting to an informal conference, the various organizations doing work with Jewish students in our

colleges and universities, to consider in a frank and friendly spirit the activities of each organization and see whether the common good might not be served through mutual discussion and co-operation.

May we ask if your Committee, as one of the principal agencies in the field, would be agreeable to sending representatives to such a conference, at a convenient time and place? Needless to say, there would be no commitment involved on your part or the part of any other organization invited and entering such an informal conference; and whatever suggestions might be brought forth for the common good would of course be completely subject to later deliberation and action.

Your response at an early date will be very much appreciated."

It is the recommendation of your Committee that this Central Conference of American Rabbis accept the invitation of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association to send representatives to a conference of the kind proposed on the conditions stated in the Chancellor's letter and that the expenses of our delegates to such a meeting be paid out of the treasury of the Conference. We believe that the problem which faces us is too large for any single organization to attempt to solve. A large sum of money will be needed to carry on the work as it should be carried on and this can be raised, we believe, without difficulty, if the problem of the Jewish student in universities is properly presented to the people of this country in a joint appeal of the organizations interested in this most important work.

Without adequate funds, we can go on as we have been doing for many years in our small way, but the sum total of results achieved will be comparatively small. Let us take up the problem of the Jewish student as it deserves to be taken up, as one of the vital and pressing problems of our time.

Outside the specific task of arranging religious services at regular intervals for the Jewish students, there are many other problems that should be the task of a committee or commission charged with student welfare work. The matter of securing proper homes for Jewish students is by no means an insignificant one in connection with some of our colleges and universities. The creation of a loan fund to worthy Jewish students might well claim our consideration. The building of chapels for religious services and in which might be included rooms for social gatherings of Jewish students and in which in general, the Jewish life of the student community might center, could to advantage be taken up for consideration.

The celebration of Jewish holy days by Jewish students, work in girls' colleges, the editing of a ritual that might appeal to students both of the Reform and the Orthodox branches of our faith, should claim our thought. The increase of Jewish fraternities and sororities in this country is thought by some to present a problem that ought to be intelligently handled. We

cite these matters at random as indicating the wide field of activity that might be covered by a committee properly equipped with funds and men to carry on the work. With our limited means, we believe that we are doing a worth while and important work. To what proportions might not that work grow if it were intelligently and systematically organized.

Your Committee is glad to note that a paper on "The Jewish University Student" is a part of the program of this Conference. We suggest that this report be discussed in connection with the discussion of that paper.

Your Committee is grateful to the many men and women who have co-operated with it during the past year; to the rabbis who at considerable self-sacrifice have left their homes to address the student congregations; to members of the various faculties who have given encouragement and support to our work; to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for financial assistance; and to all who appreciating the magnitude and the importance to the Jewish cause of religious work in universities, have stood back of our Committee and of the work in hand.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Chairman*,
ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN,
BENJAMIN FRIEDMAN,
LOUIS J. HAAS,
FELIX A. LEVY,
LOUIS L. MANN,
JACOB SINGER.

A paper on The Jewish Student at the University was read by Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer. (Appendix E).

At the conclusion of the paper, it was moved and adopted that the report be received and discussion of both paper and report be combined.

A motion that the Conference accept the invitation of the Menorah Society for a conference on work among the Jewish students was carried.

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Morgenstern, Weiss, Rosenau, Foster, Simon, Sessler, Simon Cohen, Calisch, Barasch, Franklin, Mannheimer, Zepin, Lauterbach. For discussion, see page 186.

The Conference adjourned.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

The Conference re-assembled at 8:30 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Clifton H. Levy.

The Annual Message (Appendix A) was read by Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, President of the Conference, and, upon motion, was referred to the Committee on President's Message.

Memorial resolutions in memory of Samuel Mendelsohn, prepared by Rabbi George Solomon, and in memory of Louis Bernstein, prepared by Rabbi Julian Miller, were read by the Secretary; resolutions in memory of Emil G. Hirsch, prepared by Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, were read by Rabbi Irving F. Reichert; in memory of Joseph Krauskopf, prepared by Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, were read by Rabbi Henry J. Berkowitz; in memory of Leopold Wintner, were read by Rabbi Clifton H. Levy. (Appendix D). Kaddish was recited by all the members in memory of their departed colleagues. The benediction was given by Rabbi David Philipson.

The Conference then adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 29

The meeting was called to order by the President, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, at 10 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Solomon Foster. The minutes of the previous day's meeting were read and confirmed.

The Committee on the Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions reported progress.

Rabbi Zielonka: The Committee wishes to report progress this year. Quite a number of the members have been neglecting their duty toward the committee. I think this matter ought to be considered by the Executive Board so that such members should not in the future be honored with committee appointments.

Rabbi Franklin: Before you finish with the report submitted by Rabbi Zielonka, it seems to me that a report like this should not be passed by without comment. When a man has

been appointed to do committee work and has failed to do so some notation of the fact should be made. Rabbi Zielonka has done his part and has done it well and at least one of the members of the committee has done so, but it does seem to me we will never make any progress if men accept committee appointments and then do not perform the duties which the appointment carries and I think that some sort of notice ought to be given very early in the season to members that unless they expect to meet the obligations that go with the honor of appointment, they should at least show the courtesy to the Conference not to accept the appointment.

President Calisch: Rabbi Franklin, I think the remarks are timely, for the reason that the reports submitted by the Chairman to the Executive Board showed that the Chairman of the Committee himself had done everything possible to carry out the work of his Committee, but that he did not receive the co-operation of some members of the Committee so as to make it advisable to read the report at this meeting and therefore in compliance with the wishes and suggestion of the Chairman the report has been passed over, but it is not to be understood at all that the passing of the report is a reflection upon the industry or the diligence of the Chairman of the Committee.

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Synagog Music was read by Rabbi James G. Heller.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOG MUSIC

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The program of work we had outlined for last year was not meant for one year's endeavor, but the plan was designed as a guide in this domain for some time to come. Not all of our recommendations met with realization; suffice it to say that we are nearer our goal now than we were a year ago. Our first recommendation dealt with the need of helping Dr. Idelsohn in publishing the remaining volumes of his monumental work. Happily these volumes have already seen the light, and the distinguished author is on our program. Dr. Idelsohn has delved deep into the mine

of Jewish musical traditions, and he has shown the significance of his finds through a critical acumen fortified by vast erudition. We deem it a high honor to have him in our midst.

The proposed "Symposium on the Music of the Synagog" did not materialize for various reasons. The matter had been overlooked in the first instance, and a belated attempt to rectify the oversight afforded too little time to do justice to the plan. It was thought best to defer it for a more opportune occasion. Dr. Idelsohn's presentation however, might be regarded as the first installment of the proposed "Symposium." With the help of experts in this domain we may hope to preserve our traditions with reverent discrimination. Because of a clearer knowledge of our traditions, the composer of the future will give to Synagog Music a nobler idiom of song, which shall reveal anew the imperishable yearning for the "beauty of holiness"—the noblest passion of Israel.

We had noted in a previous report, the acquisition of the Birnbaum collection of Jewish Music (the largest of its kind in the world) for the Library of the Hebrew Union College. At the suggestion of Dr. Perles, the Chairman of your Committee communicated with two musicians abroad who had made notable contributions to Synagog Music both by original composition and by compilation or transcription. The older types of Hazzanuth do not meet the needs of our liturgy; but they have historical and theoretical value of a high order. It is desirable that the Conference encourage such work; but whether this support be limited to moral or to material aid or both, is a matter of policy which the Conference alone can determine. It is our opinion that the publication of Synagog Music suitable for our services should be cared for through the usual commercial channels. Good Synagog Music should readily find a publisher and a market without further subsidy from the Conference. The music which has primarily a theoretical or historical value should be encouraged by material help when warranted; or a copy of the manuscript might be secured for our collection at the Hebrew Union College Library at a nominal cost.

The Executive Board of the Conference designated February second, "Shabbath Shirah" as Sabbath of Song. We urge that this special Sabbath of Song be made permanent in the calendar of the Synagog. The President of the Conference invited the Chairman of your Committee to describe the purpose of the Sabbath of Song. Such a statement appeared in the Union Bulletin Jan. 1923. A special request, reiterated in a communication of the President of the Conference, that all programs of the "Sabbath of Song" be forwarded to the Chairman of the Committee on Synagog Music, yielded but two replies. It is obvious that the work of the Committee is seriously hampered by a lack of co-operation on the part of our membership.

A carefully selected list of anthems and services has been prepared by Rabbi James G. Heller, a member of our Committee. Rabbi Heller

writes: "This list is compiled from a number that I secured from choir leaders and organists, and is, I believe, a very good one." In conjunction with similar lists previously presented, your Committee might tabulate this material with special reference to subject and grade of difficulty.

Several years ago, the Committee on Synagog Music was instructed to undertake the revision of the Union Hymnal. With this end in view, a number of new hymn-tunes and hymn-texts were secured. The preliminary revision did not meet with general approval, so the criticisms and corrections were duly filed, and agreement was secured in regard to certain additions and changes. It was felt, however, that the status of the work did not warrant immediate publication. Your Committee is ready to proceed with the task and submits the advisability of further delay to the wishes of the Conference. It might be added that six new Children's Services, which the Committee regards to be an improvement on those included in the present edition, have been secured.

We note with pleasure the musical settings of the Revised Union Haggadah. Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon is to be commended for his good judgment in making the selection. A valuable collection of material on Jewish Music has been prepared by Mrs. A. Irma Cohon with lecture notes, published by the National Council of Jewish Women. This volume deserves wide distribution and careful study. The author has earned the thanks of every devotee of Jewish music for her splendid achievement.

Respectfully submitted,

JACOB SINGER, *Chairman*,
HARRY W. ETTELSON,
JAMES G. HELLER,
NATHAN STERN,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received and adopted.

It was moved and adopted that the list of anthems prepared by Rabbi Heller be printed as a pamphlet for distribution and that it also be printed in the Yearbook. (Page 479).

The report of the Committee on Responsa was read by Rabbi Lauterbach.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESPONSA

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: During the past year your Committee received quite a number of questions. All of them were promptly answered by the Chairman but they were not all of such a nature as to make the information

given or the decision rendered interesting and important enough to be embodied in this report. In the case of some of them, there were other considerations which prompted the Chairman to omit them from this report. The following responsa will, it is hoped, be of interest to the members of this Conference.

I.

"Our congregation has just purchased adjoining territory to its burial grounds. The plot runs north and south. It runs from street to street and our plans are to make an entrance by the north side and the exit by the south side. This would mean that the graves and lots when laid out would either be facing north or south and not the east as is customary. The question, therefore, which I desire to ask is this: Is there anything in traditional Judaism concerning this matter? Is there any prohibition concerning the burying in graves that run north and south or vice versa?"

Answer: There is, to my knowledge, no prohibition of this kind in rabbinic Judaism. Neither the Talmud nor the Shulhan Aruk have any definite ruling about the direction in which the graves should run. On the contrary, from the Mishnah, *Baba Bathra*, VI, 8, and the discussion of the Gemara (*ibidem*, 101b) it is evident that they would have graves in every direction, east-west, west-east, north-south and south-north. Lest it be argued that this was only in Palestine, we have now the evidence from the Jewish catacombs in Rome, Italy, that some of the graves were arranged so that the head was in the direction of northwest and the feet towards the southeast, and others again in the opposite direction, head southeast and feet northwest. (See Nikolaus Müller, *Die Jüdische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 48-49). And R. Moses Sofer in his *responsa*, *Hatam Sofer*, *Yoreh Deah* No. 332, expresses his surprise at certain people who would fix the direction in which graves should run. In Pressburg where he was rabbi, the cemetery was so laid out that the graves ran west-east, that is, the head was to the west and the feet towards the east, while in the city from which the question was addressed to him, the graves ran north-south, that is, the head was placed towards the north and the feet towards the south. It would seem that certain people, believing that at the time of the resurrection the dead will get up and march to Palestine, would be careful to place the body in the grave with the feet toward Palestine, so that when the time comes the dead would be able to get up and walk right ahead without having to turn around. But, argues R. Moses Sofer, there are many roads toward Palestine, since from European countries, one can go first south to a Mediterranean harbor and then by ship east, or one can go east by land to Constantinople first and thence to Palestine, therefore, he concludes that there is absolutely no difference in what direction the graves run.

II.

Will you please tell me what is the origin and the significance of the custom to put small sticks of wood into the hands of the dead body when placing it in the grave

Answer: This custom is not universally observed, and is not mentioned in the codes. R. Moses Sofer in his Responsa (*Hatam Sofer, Yoreh Deah*, No. 327) mentions the custom and states that when he was in Prossnitz, he heard from the members of the *Hebra Kadisha* there that the purpose of the custom was to indicate the belief in the resurrection of the dead. The dead are provided with these sticks on which to lean and support themselves when getting up at the time of the resurrection. To this explanation of the *Hebra Kadisha* men of Prossnitz, R. Moses Sofer remarks that it is rather weak and unsound, just as the thin wooden sticks are weak and not strong enough to lean upon them. With all due respect to R. Moses Sofer, however, I must say that he forgot or overlooked a passage in the Palestinian Talmud (*Kilayim* IX, 4, 32b) where it is related that R. Jeremiah requested among other things, that a staff be put into his hand when placed into the grave, so that when the Messiah will come, he, R. Jeremiah, should be ready to get up and march.

III.

A couple came to me saying they would like to marry each other but there was some degree of consanguinity concerning which they were worried. This is the situation: The young lady is a half-sister, on the father's side, of the young man's mother. In other words, she is a half-aunt, so to speak. Now, does the Law in Leviticus forbidding marriage with a mother's sister extend also to the half-sister? And is there no way of permitting such a marriage as we permit the marriage between an uncle and a niece?

Answer: The law in Leviticus is understood by all authorities to extend to the half-sister also, and there is no way to permit such a marriage according to Jewish law. The argument implied in your question, why distinguish between a marriage between uncle and niece and one between aunt and nephew, would rather tend to prohibit the former than to permit the latter. Indeed all the Jewish sects, Samaritans, Sadokites, Falashas and Karaites prohibit the marriage between an uncle and a niece. And the permission or recommendation by the Talmud of a marriage between uncle and niece was probably intended as a protest against the interpretation of this law as given by the Sadducees and Samaritans. (Comp. S. Krauss, *Die Ehe Zwischen Onkel und Nichte*, in *Studies in Jewish Literature*, issued in honor of Dr. Kohler at his 70th birthday, Berlin, 1913, pp. 165-175). It is noteworthy that in spite of the approval of such a marriage between uncle and niece by the Talmud and rabbinic authorities, *Sefer Hassidim*

ed. Wistinetzki No. 1116, declares that such a marriage will not be successful, which is but another way of discouraging or disapproving of it.

IV.

A friend would like to know what ensign or emblem the Tribe of Levi had, if any. If not, is there anything that he could use as a seal which might have some connection with the name of the Tribe of Levi?

Answer: The Tribe of Levi did not have any special standard or emblem. On the breastplate of the High Priest the name of Levi was, according to tradition, engraved upon an emerald stone (*Targum Jonathan* to Exodus 28, 17, comp. also *Yalkut Reubeni* to תצורה (Warsaw 1901), p. 149, where some mystic reasons are given for it). In later times the Levites used as an emblem on their seal, a pitcher, or a pitcher with a basin, which is symbolic of the function of the Levites in assisting the priests. The Levites pour out the water upon the hands of the priests when the latter prepare to go up to recite the priestly benedictions. These emblems are also found engraved on tombstones of Levites. Comp. B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes* in Wien I, Wien 1912, p. XLVIII.

In addition to the above responsa given by myself, I beg to include in this report the following opinions on important questions given by rabbis who are not members of this Committee. In doing so I am merely carrying out instructions embodied in a resolution of the Conference last year (See Yearbook XXXII, pp. 42-43).

V.

In answer to a question by a younger colleague whether the *Shofar* should be blown on Rosh Hashana happening, as it did, on Saturday, Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, of San Francisco, gave his opinion "that in view of the attitude of Reform, there was no reason why we should omit this characteristic custom."

This opinion of Rabbi Meyer was sent to the Chairman of your Committee for endorsement and possible elaboration, both of which are hereby given.

There is no reason why the *Shofar* should not be blown on a Rosh Hashana which falls on a Saturday in congregations where only one day of Rosh Hashanah is observed. During Temple times the distinction was made between the Temple in Jerusalem and the Synagogs in the provinces, in that only in the former was the *Shofar* blown on a Saturday. After the Temple was destroyed, R. Johanan b. Zakkai instituted the practice that wherever there is a Beth-Din, that is, a rabbinical tribunal, the *Shofar* should be blown on Saturday (Mishnah, *Rosh Hashana* IV, 1). Commenting upon this Mishnah, the Babylonian Gemara (*Rosh Hashana* 29b) declares that blow-

ing of the *Shofar* is an art but not work and hence by biblical law is permitted on Saturday but that rabbinical law prohibits it on Saturday, for the reason lest it might happen that the one who is to perform the ceremony would wish to go to an expert in order to practice, and thus carry with him the *Shofar* on the Sabbath day, which act, that is, the carrying of it, is prohibited on the Sabbath *שמא יטלנו בידו וילך אצל בקי ויעבירנו* and the same consideration also prompted the rabbis to discard the ceremony of "taking the Lulab" on the first day of Succoth when it happens on a Saturday. Thus the only reason for not blowing the *Shofar* on a Sabbath is the fear it might lead to a violation of the law, prohibiting the carrying out of burdens on Saturday. It is interesting to notice that this consideration was not shared by all the rabbis, for we are told that R. Abahu, once came to Alexandria and he made the congregation there perform the ceremony of "taking the Lulab" on the first day Succoth which happened to be on a Saturday (p. Erubin, III, 21c) not letting the consideration, lest it might lead to the sin of carrying a burden on Sabbath, interfere with the duty of performing the ceremony. We may safely assume that had Abahu visited Alexandria on Rosh Hashanah which happened to fall on Saturday he would have made them perform the ceremony of blowing the *Shofar*.

Furthermore this consideration, lest it might lead to a violation of a law, might be carried to the extreme. For, as some of the rabbinical authorities rightly say, on the same ground one could argue that the ceremony should be altogether prohibited, even on Rosh Hashanah falling on a week day, for fear that it might happen that the *Shofar* might need repairing and this will lead to doing work which is prohibited on a holiday (comp. *Ture Zohab* and *Magen Abraham* to *Shulhan Aruk Orah Hayyim*, 588, 5). Of course they answer that in this case the fear lest it might lead to the sin of doing repair work on *Yomtov* is not to be entertained for it would have the result of entirely abolishing the ceremony. This latter argument is quite correct and it applies with equal force to the question of blowing the *Shofar* on Rosh Hashanah which falls on a Sabbath day in those congregations where only one day Rosh Hashanah is observed, for if we allow the consideration, lest the *Shofar* might be carried on the street, to interfere with the performance of the ceremony, the result will be that, for that year at least, the ceremony will be entirely omitted, and we should not abolish this characteristic ceremony, even for one year.

VI.

Rabbi Henry Berkowitz has given the following opinion on two questions which are likely to come up in every congregation and at any time:

"You ask my opinion on the proposition now held under consideration

by your congregation, viz.: TO PERMIT BURIALS FROM THE TEMPLE AT THE REQUEST OF THE SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, BARRING SUICIDES.

In order to make my reply as clear and concise as possible, permit me to answer the two parts of this proposition separately.

1st. Shall burials from the Temple be held simply at the request of the surviving members of the family, or shall the congregation through its rabbi and officials decide the matter.

At present, as you state, the latter condition prevails. When the congregation desires it for any reason, funerals are held from the synagog, always, of course, with the consent of the family. I believe it should be a reciprocal rule, namely, when the family desires it, the privilege should be accorded always, of course with the consent of the congregation. In such cases the President or Board shall determine the practical question, e. g. time, expense, etc., and the rabbi shall determine the religious questions, e. g. the nature of the service, the eligibility as, for instance, of the Christian wife of an Israelite, the case of the suicide and the like.

As burial is a religious service as much as public worship or marriage, the use of the Synagog cannot be inappropriate. As the family may have the Temple for marriage solemnities by complying with the conditions which the rabbi and the congregation require, so in the case of funerals should they have the like right subject to the proper conditions.

Inasmuch as funerals from the Temple have everywhere been limited hitherto, to such persons of special merit or distinction as the congregation desired to honor, it would no doubt be deemed a token of arrogance, a presumption and a yearning for the vanities of ostentation, for a family to make such a request. Nevertheless you will agree with me, I believe, in recognizing that if the old Jewish sentiment in favor of equality and the leveling of all distinctions at death, were carried out by having ALL funerals from the Temple, great, very great, good might be accomplished. The narrow, crowded quarters of private houses are rarely adequate for the decorous conduct of the services. The crowded conditions are often a menace to health and create such a state of discord and indelicacy as to harrow up the feelings of the suffering in a dangerous way and undo all the possibilities of that reverence which is essential to a religious service. Every minister has keenly felt this and should certainly welcome such a common sense innovation. Temple Emanuel, New York, adopted such a law many years ago as was imperatively demanded by the impossibility of holding funerals respectably in the flats and narrow houses of that crowded city.

2nd. As to the burial of suicides from the Temple or the prohibition thereof.

We know more about mental diseases and the inducing causes of suicide than was ever known before. As a consequence we have more compassion in our hearts for the victim than was held of old. While sometimes and

perhaps most times, the act is execrable, cowardly and the denial of religion, yet we know that it is not always so. The old Jewish law recognized the nobility of some suicides, e. g. that of martyrs, shall not the new Jewish law of congregational usage be as humane?

True, deception may be practiced and the glamor of concealment thrown over an ignoble suicide by the publicity of the funeral; there is therefore a danger of condoning such dishonesty in permitting the Temple burial. On the other hand, an irremediable wrong would be done if, by the enforcement of such a sweeping prohibition one worthy person were ever branded and the family unjustly disgraced. I should say DO NOT LEGISLATE on the subject of suicides at all. Let each case stand on its individual merits. Do not prejudge. We had a case here in Philadelphia of a woman whose eulogy will be pronounced by future ages. She discovered that the mute could be taught to speak and to understand all speech without hearing. In her efforts to establish her system she threatened the old systems. She was harrassed and persecuted, ridiculed and abused. The frail woman could not endure it and ended her life. Her death was the triumph of her system. Should she whose life was so full of honor be desecrated at death?

Trusting that these replies may be of some service to you and hoping that you will inform me of the final action of your congregation."

(Signed). HENRY BERKOWITZ.

To this I would add that according to Jewish law one is considered a suicide only when there is absolute certainty that he premeditated and committed the act with a clear mind not troubled by some great fear or worry which might have beset him for the moment and caused him temporarily to lose his mind. In the absence of such certain evidence he is given the benefit of the doubt and we assume that some intense grief, fear or worry caused him to lose his mental equilibrium and that he committed the act in a state of mind when he could not realize what he was doing. Furthermore consideration for his surviving relatives should according to the rabbis not be ignored. And whenever possible we should try to spare them the disgrace which would come to them by having their relative declared a suicide. See *Shulhan Aruk Yore Deah* 345, 1-3, and responsa *Hatam Sofer Yore Deah* 326.

Respectfully submitted,

JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, *Chairman*,
ISRAEL BETTAN,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF.

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

Rabbi Philipson: I should like to refer to that portion regarding the marriage of the nephew and the half aunt. I do not

wish to discuss that particularly but I desire to discuss an allied subject which I think should be taken into consideration by our Conference. I do not think anything definite has been done in regard to the ancient Jewish marriage law as affected by our modern conditions and there are some important, practical matters that are coming up all the time. I have just had one in my own community and I feel that this Conference should make some declaration one way or the other so that there shall not be this practice in Israel and among reform rabbis of each one going his own way. I am particularly referring to the Levirate. I had a case during the last year.

A member of my congregation desired to marry the widow of his brother. She has a son. Inasmuch as our Conference has never declared itself on this matter, I did not want to act as an individual and I refused to officiate at that marriage because I felt that insofar as no rabbinical conference had ever taken upon itself to declare that institution as being outlived, I didn't want to assume the responsibility. To my amazement that man sent in his resignation as a member of the congregation and accompanied the letter of resignation with this statement: He thought that ours was a reform congregation. He didn't care to belong to a congregation that was as narrow as ours when there are other congregations in the country that were much more broad-minded and liberal. The couple went to another city and were married by that rabbi.

It seems to me that we ought to take some stand in this matter. You can't argue with our people today on the score of what happened thousands of years ago, and to my mind this whole institution of the Levirate, whatever the reasons may have been in Palestine thousands of years ago, whatever reasons may hold with Jews that accept traditional Judaism, has lost all meaning to our people.

I do feel that we ought to have some consistency in this matter. And according to my modern point of view I can see no reason for permitting the marriage with a deceased wife's sister and forbidding it with a deceased husband's widow. I can see no reason for allowing the one and forbidding the other. That is simply from the modern point of view and we are modern men.

We are not guided by the rabbinical codes. Now if there is a good reason for keeping both, let it be said.

Rabbi Roscnau: May I call your attention to the fact that according to the laws of the State of Rhode Island and the State of Maryland, marriage between an uncle and a niece was just as much forbidden as between an aunt and a nephew and it was based altogether on a keen sense of the morals involved.

Rabbi Philipson: I am perfectly aware of that and they were consistent. So if you want to say the same thing, that it is a moral question, that neither an uncle shall marry a niece nor an aunt shall marry a nephew, at least you are consistent. But I say, let us have some harmonization here so that a member of my congregation cannot come back to me justly and say, "How in the world can you get up and marry a man to his deceased wife's sister and you won't marry me to my deceased brother's widow?"

I should like to offer a resolution that a Committee on Marriage and Divorce be appointed to take up these questions and bring the result of its deliberations before the next meeting of the Conference.

A motion to refer this resolution to the Committee on Resolutions was adopted.

The Vice-President, Rabbi Simon, takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Cohon.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee presents herewith a report of events of Jewish interest, which occurred during the past year (see Appendix M), and submits in connection therewith the following recommendations for your approval:

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Your Committee recommends that the Central Conference of American Rabbis record its grief at the departure of these scholars and leaders in Israel.

(2) The initial work of the Hebrew Achaological Society of Palestine has been crowned with signal success and promises to be of greatest value to the study of Jewish History. Your Committee recommends that the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be authorized to extend a substantial contribution to the furtherance of the work of this Society.

(3) Dr. A. Z. Idelsohn has for years been gathering the traditional songs of the Jewish people of all lands and has edited his material in ten volumes. Four of them have already appeared in German and Vol. IV also in Hebrew. The remaining volumes which are also ready for publication, await the encouragement of lovers of Jewish music. Competent judges regard Dr. Idelsohn's work of greatest scientific value. Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Board find ways and means to enable Dr. Idelsohn to complete the publication of his works.

(4) Dr. Benjamin Levin, of Palestine, has undertaken to edit and to publish all extant literature of the Geonic period under the name *Otzar Sifrus Hageonim*. Through his scientific editorship of the *Iggeres Sherira*, through his illuminating studies in the life of Sherira and through his editorship of the periodicals—*Tachkemoni* and *Ginze Kedem*, Dr. Levin has proven himself capable of sponsoring this great task. Your Committee heartily recommends his work as deserving of help on the part of the members of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL S. COHON, *Chairman*,
BARNETT R. BRICKNER,
HARRY S. LINFIELD,
JACOB MANN.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim*.

Recommendation I was adopted by a rising vote.

Recommendation II was referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommendations III and IV were referred to the Executive Board.

A resolution of protest against the action of the Soviet government in Russia forbidding the teaching of religion was read and the discussion was participated in by Rabbis Schulman, Foster, Ettelson, Chas. S. Levi, Newfield, Philipson, Leibert and Kaplan.

Upon motion, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Conference adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING

The Conference reassembled at 8 o'clock.

The report of the Commission on Social Justice was read by Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: During the past year the Social Justice Commission drew up a summary of the previous statements of the Conference on problems of social justice. The summary was printed as a page advertisement in the March issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* and appeared in full page display form in the *Union Bulletin*. The Federal Council of Churches reproduced it in its Information Service which has a circulation of approximately eight thousand; copies of the summary were also sent to a selected mailing list.

The Social Justice Commission is participating with the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council and the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council in two important endeavors, one being in a study of the Seven Day Week in Industry and the other in a group that is seeking to investigate the economic causes of war. The second investigation is being conducted by a group of between twenty and twenty-five persons, the majority of whom are representatives from the three religious bodies. This group has organized under the name of the Conference on Economic Factors in International Relations. Besides the clerical members, several distinguished professors from Columbia and Princeton, a few publicists and a limited number of experts in international relations and three or four prominent citizens constitute the membership of this Conference. Rabbi Frisch is the Conference representative on the Executive Committee of Five; your Chairman takes this opportunity to express to Rabbi Frisch his deep appreciation of the service he has rendered the Conference as a member of this Executive Committee. The original invitation to the Social Justice Commission to co-operate was made through his suggestion to the Federal Council's Commission and the Secretary of the Federal Council Commission has on many occasions spoken to your Chairman in the highest terms of his fine work as a member of the Executive Committee. The other members of the Executive Committee are Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University, Chairman, Father John A. Ryan, Rev. Samuel Z. Batten, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson and Miss Margaret C. Alexander, Director of Research. In compliance with the request of the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, we were allotted four representatives in the Conference itself.

The general purpose of the Conference on Economic Factors in International Relations is to promote world peace through the elimination of

friction between nations arising from sinister aggressions in the economic sphere. Studies are to be made of the Mexican situation, of the situation in the Near East and other parts of the world, with a view to the removal of the jealousies and intrigues between nationals of various countries and the establishment of friendly relationships between nations having grievances of an economic origin against one another.

This Conference plans to publish its findings from time to time through pamphlets and volumes. The first volume, which is to deal with the question of Mexico, is expected to appear within a year. A competent research worker has been engaged to give part time to this work. The Central Conference of American Rabbis has appropriated \$250.00 towards the expense for the coming year, which will be approximately \$1,500.00. An attempt will be made to have the publications bring in some return for the expenses involved.

The Seven Day Week group consists of the following: Chairman, Prof. Samuel M. Lindsay, of Columbia University; Rev. F. E. Johnson, Father F. McGowan and the Chairman of the Social Justice Commission of the Conference. The Committee has held two meetings and is planning as its first work the collation of data in several industries where the seven-day week prevails.

At the suggestion of the Chairman of the Social Justice Commission of this Conference, the Chairmen of the Social Justice Commissions of the three organizations, drew up a statement on the Twelve Hour Day to counteract the effect of the report of the Committee on Proposed Total Elimination of the Twelve Hour Day appointed by the American Iron and Steel Institute rejecting the proposal for the elimination of the Twelve Hour Day. The statement which was prepared was first submitted to the Social Justice Commission for approval and subsequently, in accordance with the resolution passed by this Conference at last year's convention, to the Executive Board. The Executive Board almost unanimously endorsed the statement and the same was broadcasted throughout the country on June sixth. From all reports, it has had a tremendous effect upon public opinion. The statement follows:

The report of the Committee on Proposed Total Elimination of the Twelve-Hour Day appointed by the American Iron and Steel Institute shatters the public confidence that was inspired by the creation of the Committee a year ago at the request of the President of the United States. It is a definite rejection of the proposal for the abolition of the long day. The public demand in response to which the Committee was appointed is set aside as a "sentiment" which was "not created or endorsed by the workmen themselves." The testimony of competent investigators, including eminent engineering societies, is ignored, and the conclusion is put forth without supporting

data that the twelve-hour day "has not of itself been an injury to the employes, physically, mentally or morally." This statement is made in face of the fact that the committee of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation, appointed in 1912 to investigate this matter, expressed the opinion "that a 12-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for any considerable number of years means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and virility of such men."

Objection to the long day because of its effect on the family life of the twelve-hour workers is disposed of in the report with the complacent comment that it is questionable whether men who work shorter hours actually spend their leisure time at home. This is an unworthy and untenable argument which will be bitterly resented by the millions of home-loving workmen in America.

The Steel Institute's Committee contends that the workmen themselves prefer the long hours. Undoubtedly there are those who will voluntarily work long hours to their own hurt, but the Committee's contention is chiefly significant as showing that workmen whose only choice is between abnormally long hours of labor and earnings that are insufficient to maintain a family on a level of health and decency, naturally adopt the more arduous alternative.

The plea that a shortage of labor makes impracticable the change from two to three shifts of workmen, affords but a meager defense. The shortage of labor was not the reason for the failure to abolish the long day two years ago when the public waited expectantly for such a salutary step on the part of the United States Steel Corporation. At that time there was appalling unemployment which could have been in large measure relieved in steel manufacturing districts by introducing the three-shift system in the steel industry. The task may be more difficult now than it would have been then, but a past delinquency affords no release from a present moral obligation.

The Steel Institute's Committee finds that the entire cost of a change to the eight-hour day would have to be paid by the consumers of steel, disregarding the possibility of some proportionate contribution out of the earnings of the industry. Thus the safeguarding of profits becomes a consideration superior to that of the wages and hours of the workers, and the willingness of the public to pay higher prices is made a condition of the accomplishment of a fundamental reform.

The Steel Institute's Committee finds that there are "questions of high importance" involved in this whole matter, which, they assert, have no moral or social features. "They are economic," say the steel manufacturers; "they affect the pecuniary interest of the great public, which includes but is not confined to employers and employes." This divorce between the "moral"

or "social" elements of a problem and its economic aspects runs counter to the teaching of religion. It exalts a misconceived "law of supply and demand" to a position of equal authority with the law of justice. It excuses inhumanities in the name of economic necessity. Furthermore, it overlooks an important series of demonstrations, within the steel industry and elsewhere, of the practicability and superior advantages of the three-shift system. These demonstrations confirm in practice what no honest mind can question in principle—that bad morals can never be good economics.

The one redeeming feature of the Committee's report is the intimation that it is not final. The public has waited long for the fulfilment of a virtual promise from the industry that the twelve-hour day would be abandoned. The public expects the initiative to be taken by the United States Steel Corporation. It is a task that presents admitted difficulties, but none that a powerful corporation which has accumulated an enormous surplus should find insurmountable. The forces of organized religion in America are now warranted in declaring that this morally indefensible regime of the twelve-hour day must come to an end. A further report is due from the Iron and Steel Institute—a report of a very different tenor.

Our participation with the Protestant and Catholic groups serves two important purposes. In the first place, it furnishes a splendid avenue for the application of the principles and ideals of the great living religions, among them Judaism, to the life of nations, to the end of advancing the cause of peace and justice among men.

Secondly, it offers a superb example of co-operative effort among the three great religious bodies and is therefore bound to increase mutual understanding and good-will between Catholic, Protestant and Jew. The relationships between our representatives and those of other faiths have been both cordial and useful—useful in that pronouncements made by the representatives of the three great religious groups are far more far-reaching and effective than if made singly. We strongly recommend that participation in these endeavors and in kindred movements be continued and expanded.

HORACE J. WOLF, *Chairman*,
RUDOLPH I. COFFEE,
ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
HARRY W. ETELSON,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,
LOUIS L. MANN,

The report was received and adopted.

A paper on The Social Creeds of the Churches—A Comparative Study, was read by Rabbi Abraham Cronbach. (Appendix F).

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis A. H. Silver,

Morgenstern, Ettelson, Wolf, Charles S. Levi, Goldenson, Levinger, Leibert, Foster and Silber, and Prof. Slonimsky. For discussion, see page 264.

A motion was made and adopted that the Social Creed of the Conference be printed on the back of Rabbi Cronbach's paper and that the Executive Board be requested to consider ways of giving the widest possible publicity to the Conference Social Creed.

It was further moved and adopted that the Executive Board request the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to have a paper on Social Justice presented before the St. Louis Convention of the Union.

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

The meeting was called to order by the President, at 9:30 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Louis I. Egelson. The minutes of the previous day's meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Joint Commission on Religious Education was read by Rabbi David Philipson. (Appendix H).

It was moved and adopted, that every member of the Conference, having been provided with a copy of the Curriculum, shall be requested to send suggestions and corrections to the Secretary of the Commission by January 1, 1924, that these suggestions and corrections be tabulated, that the Commission hold a meeting for the consideration of these suggestions and corrections, and that the Curriculum as finally fixed be then issued as the joint product of the Conference and the Union.

A paper on Recent Tendencies in Education and Their Application to the Jewish School, by Emanuel Gamoran, Educational Director of Department of Synagog and School Extension, was read as part of the report. See page 314. For discussion see page 340.

The privilege of the floor was granted to Mrs. Lee J. Levinger, who explained her forthcoming book, Jewish Festivals in the Religious School.

Papers on Instruction of Hebrew, by Rabbi Max Reichler, on Why Teach Ceremonials, by Rabbi Irving F. Reichert, and on Aim of a Curriculum for Jewish Religious High Schools, by Rabbi Harvey E. Wessel, were read as part of the Religious Education Day program. (Appendix G.)

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference reassembled at 3:30 o'clock.

The Vice-President, Rabbi Simon, takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on President's Message feels sure that it voices the sentiment of the Conference when it expresses appreciation of the earnestness of the President as evidenced by his review of the conditions that now obtain in the Jewish world. His insistence on the need of a revival of the spiritual life as the remedy for many of the ills that are troubling Jewry cannot but strike a sympathetic chord within us. After pointing out how "at the Jubilee Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in January last, speaker after speaker stressed the imminent danger of a religiously ignorant, untaught and unbelieving generation following upon the heels of an indifferent one," he well says that "we, the spiritual leaders, the responsible guardians of the moral and spiritual life cannot be less concerned," and must sound "the trumpet tone of a triumphant faith." This ringing call to rally the thousands of Israel about the spiritual banner of our faith arouses us all to a renewed sense of our duties and our privileges as the guardians of the sanctuary.

Your Committee recommends that a rising vote of thanks be extended to the President.

I

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the pronouncement of the President that it is the duty of the Conference to establish a high standard of scholarship, dignity and honor for the leaders of the synagogue.

II

The Conference has done much in the past to elevate the standard of the rabbinate by its qualifications for membership. It should

guard the standards and traditions jealously, so that only those who in every way merit this privilege may enjoy fellowship in it.

Equally the Conference should endeavor to impress upon our congregations the significance of the finer standards of rabbinical worth, so that in the selection of religious guides and teachers they may ever set those high qualities of the soul which make men leaders and moulders of the spirit of their fellowmen above the things of convention and show. When congregations shall have learned to judge by these true standards of spiritual worth, the dignity, power and authority of our rabbinate will be established securely.

Above all else the cry of American Judaism is for spiritual leadership and consecrated leaders in many and diverse fields. Each passing day brings home to us more forcibly the truth that unless we can inspire others to carry on the work with us and after us the work must surely fail in the end for lack of workers. The labors of that rabbi are in one sense barren indeed who does not leave at least some few spiritual heirs to accept and carry on his spiritual heritage. Ours are the imperative and sacred task and privilege so to impress the imagination of the younger generation and fire its zeal and aspiration by teaching and example that we shall "raise up many disciples." When American Judaism shall be ministered to by a sufficient body of servants properly trained and deeply consecrated, we may feel that its future is assured and that it will go calmly forward on its course of progress and service.

In regard to the recommendation of the President that "the incoming Executive Board be instructed to arrange for the preparation of a paper to be submitted to the Conference for adoption, that will be a
III formulation of the theology of American Judaism, and a statement of the principles in the light of the needs and problems of the present day"; your Committee suggests that this recommendation be referred to the Executive Board of the Conference, with instructions to place the matter in the hands of the Program Committee.

We join with the President in a feeling of disappointment that the highly important work of the preparation and distribution of tracts has not proceeded more expeditiously since the joint arrangement was
IV made with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1915.

We are given to understand, however, that the Tract Commission has the work well in hand now and that tracts are being prepared which will appear soon. Our members on the Tract Commission recognize the urgency of their task, and we hope that this great work which has been lagging so distressingly will now go forward quickly. As for the suggestion of the President that tracts in Yiddish be prepared, we recommend that the Tract Commission take this suggestion under advisement.

The Committee endorses the President's plea for a more widespread study and love of the Bible, now as ever the Jew's most precious spiritual treasure and humanity's greatest teacher of religion. As for the suggestion regarding the publication of selections from the Bible for educational purposes, the Committee is informed that such a project is now being considered by the Commission on Religious Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Referring to the President's recommendation regarding the Pension Fund, your Committee recommends that, even though thanks to the splendid co-operation of our Committee on the Solicitation of Funds, the Relief Fund of the Conference is at the present time adequate to our needs, and there exists no necessity of drawing upon the resources of the Synagog Pension Fund, nevertheless, it is of supreme importance that a permanent pension plan be devised without unnecessary delay. The longer we wait the more expensive any plan becomes, and we would therefore respectfully urge the Executive Board of the Union to expedite the matter both in justice to the cause and to the wishes of the late Jacob H. Schiff, the chief donor of the Fund.

Your Committee cordially endorses the suggestion of the President that this year's edition of the Conference Yearbook be dedicated to Dr.

Kaufman Kohler "with suitable introductory inscription and with his picture as frontispiece," as a mark of our esteem and affection.

We join with the President and with the whole Jewish world in our desire to honor the scholar and colleague whom God has permitted to reach so hale an old age in the service of our faith.

We congratulate the President on the efforts and achievements that mark his administration of the high office which he has filled so earnestly during the past two years and which he now relinquishes. He has performed the arduous tasks with conscientiousness and devotion. The Conference has had in him a spokesman who has represented us in dignified fashion. As he lays down the gavel we express the hope that his genial presence may grace the gatherings of the Conference for many years to come during which we may have the benefit of his experience and counsel.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman*,
ISRAEL BETTAN,
HYMAN G. ENELOW,
SOLOMON FOSTER,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON,
JAMES G. HELLER,
CHARLES S. LEVI,

EDGAR F. MAGNIN,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
SAMUEL SCHULMAN,
NATHAN STERN,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

The report was received and the recommendations considered *seriatim*.

Recommendation I was adopted by a rising vote.

Recommendation II was adopted.

Recommendation III was referred to the Executive Board.

Recommendations IV-V were adopted.

Recommendation VI was adopted.

Recommendation VII was adopted by a rising vote.

The report was adopted as a whole.

The President, Edward N. Calisch, takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Federation of Religious Schools was read by Rabbi Rudolph Grossman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on The Federation of Religious Schools begs leave to report:

At the meeting of the Conference of 1922, a resolution was unanimously adopted that a committee be appointed at that session of the Conference, to proceed with the organization of a National Federation of Jewish Religious Schools under the auspices of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in accordance with the recommendation of the Religious Education Committee. In conformity with this resolution, the President of the Conference appointed the following as members of the aforesaid Committee: Rabbis Franklin, Fineshriber, Mann, Rosenau, Slonimsky, Wolsey and Rudolph Grossman, Chairman.

In view of the fact that the summer vacation was at hand, the Chairman of the Committee believed that action could well be deferred until the Fall. Owing to the work connected with the Holydays, no meeting of the Committee could be arranged until November 1922, when the following members of the Committee, who were also members of the Commission on Jewish Educational Religious Literature, then in session in Baltimore, Maryland,—Rabbis Rosenau, Mann, Slonimsky and the Chairman, met for informal consideration of the organization of the Federation. Their action, however, was purely informal, inasmuch as the other members of the Committee had not been informed of such a meeting. (The Chairman is ready to present a statement of their deliberations at Baltimore, if the Conference desires to hear it.)

Before a meeting of the full Committee could be called, your Chairman

learned that with most commendable speed, the Executive Secretary of the Synagog and School Extension Department of the Union, had engaged the services of an expert on Jewish pedagogy, Dr. Gamaron.

It was impossible to bring the members of the Committee on Federation together at an earlier date than at the time of the Convention of the Union, held in New York City in January, 1923. A meeting of the Committee, attended by all its members, with the exception of Dr. Rosenau, was then held, at which the subject was most thoroughly and earnestly considered, and after general discussion the following conclusions were reached:

The Committee on Federation begs to report to the Central Conference of American Rabbis that it deems it unwise to proceed with the organization of the Federation, at least for the present, and for these reasons:

1. The appointment of an expert on Jewish pedagogy by the Synagog and School Extension Department of the Union, takes away from the Federation one of its proposed functions.
2. The appointment of a new Committee on Curriculum by the Commission on Jewish Educational Religious Literature, said Committee to present a draft of a curriculum by April 1923, and the issuance of text-books by the Commission, deprives the proposed Federation of another of its functions.
3. To organize a new Federation under these circumstances, and without waiting until the results of both the Commission's and the School Extension Department's efforts were known, would, in the opinion of your Committee, be doing overlapping work, particularly in view of the fact that the Central Conference has not the financial resources at its command as have the two other organizations referred to.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that no further steps be taken at this time, looking to the formation of the Federation, unless, in the wisdom of the Conference, it be found advisable to proceed notwithstanding.

Respectfully submitted,

RUDOLPH GROSSMAN, *Chairman*,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
LOUIS L. MANN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
HENRY SLONIMSKY,
LOUIS WOLSEY.

In presenting this report, your Chairman begs the privilege of making a personal statement. While he has signed this report, in order to stand

with his colleagues, he feels it his duty to state that he is not in agreement with the action taken. Though fully realizing the sincere and earnest efforts that are being made by the Synagog and School Extension Department, and by the Commission, in endeavoring to overcome the grave and chaotic conditions that at present prevail in our reform religious schools, he is firmly for the organization of the Federation, as authorized by the Central Conference.

There are many other problems involved in an adequate religious educational system in our schools than those that concern themselves with curricula and text-books, even granting that those be satisfactorily supplied, such as school management, an adequate teaching force, a proper system of grading, etc., which might well be the work of a Federation. Nor should the Conference be unmindful of the great advantage to be gained by the mere fact of a Union that would represent several hundred religious schools, an exemplification of harmonious co-operation that would strike the imagination.

Above all, he believes that the standardization, systematization and co-ordination of the work of the reform religious schools of our country, ought to be under the control and in charge of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, whose members are themselves the official heads of religious schools, and are perhaps more vitally interested than anyone else in the solution of the many difficulties and problems that confront them. Your Chairman, therefore, takes the privilege, though with the utmost respect for the judgment of the other members of the Committee, to urge that the Conference at this session give careful consideration to the question as to whether the Federation should or should not be formed.

Upon motion, the report was received and adopted as amended.

It was moved and adopted that the Committee on Federation of Religious Schools be discharged with thanks.

The report of the Conference representatives on the Tract Commission was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Goldenson.

REPORT OF THE TRACT COMMISSION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on the Tract Commission begs leave to report: The Tract Commission composed jointly of representatives of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, held two meetings during the past year. The first meeting was held at Temple Beth El at Detroit, Michigan, on December 4, 1922, and the second in this city during this convention.

The members of the Commission discussed the problem of the activities of the Tract Commission from the following points of view:

- (a) The Policy of the Commission.
- (b) The Material for Tracts.
- (c) Organization of Effort.
- (d) Distribution.

With reference to the material to be used in the tracts, the Commission resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Tract Commission adopt the following as a statement of its purpose: to publish leaflets and tracts upon Jewish Religion, history and thought, with a view of stimulating Jewish consciousness and spreading information with reference to Jewish life and ideals.

With reference to the material to be used in the tracts, the Commission decided to publish during the coming year no less than four tracts under the following general headings:

1. Jewish Doctrines.
2. Jewish History.
3. Jewish Religious Education.
4. World Relationships.

The specific tracts decided upon under these headings were:

1. "Do the Jews Believe in a Messiah?"
2. "The Significance of Jewish History for World History."
3. "The Aim of Education in a Jewish Religious School."
4. "The Jew and His Neighbor."

Mr. Israel Zangwill was invited to write Tract No. 2. In reply he stated that he had treated of that subject in one of his books and permitted us to put into tract form his article on "The Position of Judaism" republished in his volume, "The Voice of Jerusalem."

Dr. Lauterbach also gave his permission to make an abstract of the paper that he read before the Conference two years ago for the purpose of publishing a tract on the subject, "The Jew and His Neighbor."

Abstracts of these two tracts have already been made and are in the hands of the Editorial Committee of the Commission.

Considering the subject of "distribution," the Commission decided to reprint our tracts in the form of handsome bound paper booklets for general sale. A sample of the first tract in this form is available for distribution at this meeting of the Conference.

The Commission decided to increase the number of non-Jewish ministers on our mailing list. This work is being done now through the courtesy of the Department of Synagog and School Extension.

The Commission has decided to invite the members of the Conference to suggest subjects, which in their judgment, would be helpful to have treated in tract form. The members of the Conference will also be asked to bring to the attention of the Commission available studies—their own or from others—that can be converted into tracts.

The Tract Commission elected the following officers:

Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson, Chairman.
Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Vice-Chairman.
Rabbi George Zepin, Secretary.

The following sub-committees of the Tract Commission were appointed:

Committee on Subjects and Writers,
Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, Chairman.
Committee on Distribution,
Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Chairman.
Committee on Holiday Press Notices,
Rabbi George Zepin, Chairman.
Committee on Holiday Sermon Pamphlet,
Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg, Chairman.
Editorial Committee,
Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson, Chairman.

During the year the Tract Commission followed its usual custom in sending out notices of the various holidays in advance of each holiday, to the daily press throughout the country.

The Holiday Sermon Pamphlet for the coming year is now in the process of publication. This pamphlet is sent to the small communities throughout the country that are without religious leaders.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON, *Chairman*,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT,
SAMUEL HIRSHBERG,
FELIX A. LEVY,
ISAAC S. MOSES,
NATHAN STERN.

The report was received and adopted.

It was moved and adopted that the Tract Commission be re-

quested to give earnest thought to the advisability of publishing a tract on Judaism and Social Justice.

The privilege of the floor was granted to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for an appeal on behalf of the seminaries of Europe.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise: Many of you know that the rabbinical seminaries, particularly those of the German-speaking lands, which includes that of Breslau, two in Berlin, one in Vienna and one in Budapest, namely five in all, as a result of the war, are financially in a most precarious way. I know that it might be added, and it doubtless will be added in the course of the discussion, that the seminaries of the East-European countries are in the same critical state, but I wish to deal particularly with what I know and with what others among you know as I do to be the status of the five seminaries I have named.

I happen to be acquainted with the circumstance, that during the past year there has been an attempt from at least two directions to bring critically-needed support to these seminaries. The one came through the Joint Distribution Committee acting through a special committee of which Dr. J. L. Magnes of this Conference was the Acting Chairman. A further measure of temporary relief was granted by a committee which perhaps the speaker of the moment had some little part in bringing to pass, so that the most urgent needs of the five great European seminaries about which I am speaking have been met for this year.

Within the month a meeting was called at Breslau, news of which reached me from the head of the Breslau seminary, Dr. M. Guttmann, just a few days ago. This was a meeting of the representatives of the seminaries, all five of them being represented. I think that in a tentative way I have no right to say more than that these gentlemen, known to all of us as great scholars and teachers, took the position, or rather gave utterance to the hope, that they might in this tragic hour of crisis for them look to American Jewry for support that should be more than temporary or tentative.

Without having the right to name figures, I think it was felt that some such sum as \$50,000 or \$100,000 would provide a

capital foundation for an indefinite future that should replace the capital sums that were lost as a result of the war.

Now the question that I wish to put to you is this: What can we do; what ought we to do, to meet this critical need, a need that ought to appeal to everyone of us, a need that not a few of us have tried in partial and inadequate fashion to meet? I know that we as a body of rabbis cannot undertake to secure the sum of \$50,000 or \$100,000 as an association, because, as was well said this afternoon, this is an informative, this is an inspirational body; this is not a body to organize affairs, but rather to give those affairs direction and inspiration.

It seems to me that if we had the will we might find a way of so co-operating with that group of men whose names I can give you, representing the seminaries, that they shall know, first, whether they can look to American Israel today for the help that they need. They do not wish to come and schnorr for one or two years. I wish to make it clear and I do it in justice to these gentlemen, this plan has not originated with them. It has been submitted to them. The hope has been expressed to them on behalf of American Jews that a way out might be found, that if the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, for example, has a budget of \$300,000 or more per annum, it might not be impossible for the rabbis in American Israel, in conjunction with the Union, or in some such way as you shall devise, to bring it to pass that \$50,000 or \$100,000 shall be secured to be divided among the five seminaries, that sum to be adequate to meet the needs for the future. Keep in mind that it will be a long time before the German-speaking lands are restored to those normal conditions of trade and circumstance which will make it possible for the Jews of German-speaking countries to support the seminaries.

I desire to offer this motion: That the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis be instructed to consider ways and means of co-operating with representatives acting on behalf of the seminaries of Germany, Austria and Hungary, with a view of bringing to their help and support such funds as may be needed in order to re-establish them for future years of high service.

Rabbi Schulman: Mention has been made of the two agencies which have contributed to the temporary support of the seminaries, or of some of them. I may add a few months ago it was my privilege to send \$1,600 to the Hochschule in Berlin. I do not mention this for personal reasons, but because it is germane to the subject presented to us. This sum of money, which was collected from twelve to fifteen people, was not contributed to by some people who usually are most munificent in their gifts, because, as some of them informed me, the Joint Distribution Fund had provided for that institution for two years. When you add to these amounts the humble sum raised, then one institution of these five (and it is my Alma Mater) is inadequately but encouragingly provided for for the immediate future, two years or so perhaps. Now I believe, too, that a heartening message should be sent across the seas to these institutions of learning, making them feel that in their present state of desolation they are not altogether forgotten, but that we do think of them.

However I believe we ought not commit ourselves to such a tremendous task of providing for ten years; if I understood the spirit of the remarks of the preceding speaker, that is practically what it means; because if we commit ourselves to such a program and we are not able successfully to realize it, then we have not only discredited ourselves, but we have hurt the cause, because we have led them to look to us for support.

Therefore I say we should accept the resolution presented to us and we should recommend to the Executive Board that it thoroughly investigate the matter of the condition of the institutions of Jewish learning and Jewish scholarship abroad, through a committee, and put itself in touch with existing institutions that are helping, and to find out just what is needed for the next few years.

I purposely use this phraseology. I don't want to commit myself to something which I feel I may not be able to carry out, otherwise I am in perfect accord and harmony with the spirit of the preceding speaker.

Rabbi Rosenau: I wish to preface my remarks by saying I am extremely happy that a resolution was introduced here this

afternoon for the purpose of giving aid to the furtherance of Jewish scholarship in Europe. I also strongly believe in investigation, but there is a time for investigation and a time for action. Investigation has been going on through the Joint Distribution Committee not only upon the initiative of the Joint Distribution Committee but also upon the recommendation of various organizations. I recall very vividly that on several occasions the suggestion was made before the Executive Board of our Conference and also upon the floor of the Conference that we should do something to aid suffering Jewish scholars in Europe immediately. Forthwith, the motion was made, "Let us appoint a committee to investigate the plight of these people through the Joint Distribution Committee and find out whether they are deserving of assistance or not."

The conditions today are however different. Mr. Billikoff is here and he has put the question to the country at large: Shall we discontinue the Joint Distribution Committee or save the machinery?—indicating to us that the purpose for which the Joint Distribution Committee had been created had already been carried out and that it was his desire to have the country at large determine whether the machinery should not be kept in existence in order to be able to help when other emergencies arise.

I for one, knowing the plight that exists in Europe, through correspondence with men who are at the head of some of our prominent seminaries there, desire to say that we ought without very much debate and without very much investigation unanimously resolve to instruct the Executive Board to send to Europe certain sums of money, or, if it be impossible for us to appropriate funds, for the Executive Board to devise ways and means for the establishment of a permanent foundation for the five seminaries which have been mentioned by Dr. Wise. These are all seminaries that stand out pre-eminently from all the Yeshivahs of Europe as having furthered Jewish education. Shall we let these seminaries go to pieces? They are the ones that have given us the inspiration to work on, and if we permit the work of these scholars to discontinue, you may rest assured we will suffer as much on this side of the Atlantic as will European Jewry.

Rabbi Goldenson: I desire to tell you what we have been able to do in Pittsburgh by way of suggesting similar things which can be done here. We have in Pittsburgh, very recently, inaugurated what we call a Philanthropic and Educational Fund, and I made it perfectly clear to the members of my Board, and through the Board to the congregation, that the institution of the congregation should not be merely a preaching affair, but that we should do something, particularly for religious education, and not alone for our own people but for others.

I have found it very easy to convince laymen in my congregation of the need and the usefulness of such a fund and of their obligations to help scholars and to help worthy institutions. Last year we raised \$5,000. Our people are very happy to subscribe to such a fund. I would suggest a similar method, not only because I know the money can be raised, but because it is a good thing for the members of our congregations to do something more than simply pay for the maintenance of the institution. All their other beneficences should go through the channels of the Federation of Charities. It is a good thing to instruct them in the art and in the obligation directly through the congregation to help those institutions and those persons that have to do with the religious education of our people.

I have no doubt that within the next year or two we shall be able to raise possibly three or four times that amount of money annually for similar purposes. I would suggest that as a method to the Executive Board. Let us address ourselves to the congregations and inform them of the ways and methods of some congregations and advise them to organize and to inaugurate similar funds so that we may draw upon these funds for like purposes in time to come.

Rabbi Silver: As a matter of technique in carrying out the purpose of this resolution, may I suggest the advisability of instructing the Executive Board to appoint a committee to work out the ways and means of raising this sum of money. Rabbi Wolsey and myself in Cleveland have found the community responsive to a fine degree to appeals for cultural Jewish institutions.

I think you will find our people ready and willing to help if the thing is explained to them and the need clearly demonstrated. But a committee ought to be appointed by the Executive Board to work out the details of this problem.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise: No one dreams of going forward in a great enterprise without the most careful deliberation, but I hope you will forget the use of the term, "investigation" when we are dealing with the needs of those who are at least our equals, and who, if they speak to us of their needs, are entitled to help without one moment of hesitation on our part save to consider the problem of how promptly and largely and permanently we can help.

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board of the Conference undertake to co-operate with the seminaries of Berlin, Breslau, Vienna and Budapest in providing permanently for their needs as far as may be possible and that the Executive Board appoint a committee to devise ways and means for raising the money needed for this purpose.

The Conference then adjourned.

FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 29

Divine Services for the Sabbath were held at the First Presbyterian Church. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Edward F. Magnin. The Evening Service for the Sabbath from the Union Prayerbook was read by Rabbi Lee J. Levinger. The Conference lecture was delivered by Rabbi Felix A. Levy (Appendix B). The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Hyman Iola. The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

The Conference assembled for divine services. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Henry J. Berkowitz. The Sabbath Morning Service from the Union Prayerbook, was read by Rabbi Solomon Fineberg. Rabbi Abraham Feinstein read the weekly

portion from the Torah. The Conference sermon was delivered by Rabbi Nathan Stern (Appendix C). The Adoration and Kaddish were read by Rabbi Meyer Lovitch. The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Charles S. Levi.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference assembled at 3:30 o'clock.

After an introduction by Rabbi Jacob Singer, Dr. A. Z. Idelsohn read a paper on Jewish Music. (Appendix I).

At its conclusion, a vote of thanks was extended to Dr. Idelsohn for his interesting address.

A paper on The Jew in Mexico was presented by Rabbi Martin Zielonka. (Appendix L).

A motion to print 1,000 copies of Rabbi Zielonka's paper was carried and referred to the Executive Board.

The Conference then adjourned.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1

The Conference assembled at 10 o'clock, with the President, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, in the chair. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Sol Landman. The minutes of the previous sessions were read and confirmed.

The report of the Committee on Relief Fund and the Commission on Synagog Pension Fund was read by Rabbi Stolz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIEF FUND AND COMMISSION ON SYNAGOG PENSION FUND

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Relief Fund and your Commission on Synagog Pension Fund beg leave to report as follows for the period of twelve months, from June 1, 1922, to June 1, 1923:

Seven pensions were paid to two incapacitated members and to the widows of five members.

One widow was added to the pension list during the year.

The total amount expended for these pensions was \$2,915.

By resolution of the Conference of 1922, \$1,000 was appropriated from

this fund for the immediate relief of unfortunate colleagues in Europe. This money was taken abroad by Rabbi Joseph Rauch, a member of the Executive Board, who went to Europe immediately after the Conference, and upon his advice it was distributed under the direction of Dr. Buechler who reported directly to the President. Fifty dollars were also sent to a European rabbi's widow upon the advice of D. S. Blondheim.

This makes altogether an expenditure of \$3,965 for this fiscal year.

The receipts of the Relief Fund during the same period were \$8,163.68, viz:

One-half dues	\$ 722.50
Interest	3,500.00
Donations	3,941.18

an increase over last year of \$2,577.39.

This leaves a surplus of \$4,198.68 which has been added to the Relief Fund of the Conference, which now amounts to \$45,894.76 and which is invested in Liberty Bonds and other safe securities in the keeping of our Treasurer.

In accordance with the report of the special auditors who analyzed the reports on the various funds of the Conference from 1911 to 1922 (Year-book XXXII, pp. 87-95), your Committee has heretofore credited \$5,700.44 more to the Relief Fund than was justified by the report of the auditors. It was found, however, that they failed to credit us with \$5,000 which belonged to our Fund. Henceforth our calculations will be made upon the basis of the amended figures.

The Committee on Solicitation under the zealous and capable chairmanship of Rabbi Lazaron succeeded in raising \$3,914.18, by far the largest sum raised in any one year,—a gratifying proof that both the congregations and the individuals in American Israel are awakening to a consciousness of their duty towards the aged and the incapacitated rabbi and his family, and that they are ready to give a willing and generous response whenever the proper appeal is made to their sense of responsibility and honor.

In view of the increase in our Fund and in justice to our donors, we recommend:

(1) That the Relief Committee be authorized to recommend to the Executive Board an increase in monthly pensions in proportion to the increased cost of living, wherever circumstances seem to require it; and

(2) That the Conference again appropriate the sum of \$1,000 from the Relief Fund to be expended under the direction of the Executive Board for the alleviation of distressed colleagues or seminary professors in Europe.

The Synagog Pension Fund, founded by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, now amounts to \$132,128.50 which is in the keeping of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and is in-

vested in Third Liberty Bonds. This is an increase of \$5,532.74 over last year.

No plan of Pension Fund was presented by the Joint Commission on Synagog Pension Fund to the Council that met in New York last January, nor has the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations formulated a definite scheme for exercising this trust.

We therefore recommend that our Executive Board again urge the Executive Committee of the Union to call as expeditiously as possible a meeting of the Joint Commission which has not met in over six years.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman*,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON.

The report was received and adopted.

It was moved and adopted that the \$1,000 be distributed among the rabbis of Central Europe as a Rosh Hashanah present.

A paper on Sabato Morais was read by Rabbi William Rose-nau. (Appendix J).

The discussion was led by Rabbi Marvin Nathan. See page 370.

A memorial address in memory of Martin Meyer was presented by Rabbi Hyman G. Enelow. See page 158.

It was moved and carried that a message of sympathy on behalf of the Conference be sent to the family and to the congregation.

A paper on Devotional Literature in the Vernacular Prior to the Reform Movement was read by Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof. (Appendix K).

The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Lauterbach, Bettan, Leibert, Stolz, Silver and Magnin, and Profs. Slonimsky and Mann. See page 416.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Rabbi Mann.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Resolutions begs to make the following recommendations on the resolutions introduced at the Conference, and asks their adoption:

I.

In order that the Jewish viewpoint with regard to Social Justice be fully and clearly presented, be it

Resolved, That this Conference recommend to the Executive Board a paper and discussion for the coming Conference of the subject covering Jewish sources.

MENDEL SILBER,
JACOB MANN,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation was adopted.

II.

In regard to the resolution touching on the attitude of the Soviet government towards religious instruction,

Your Committee to whom this resolution was referred recommends that the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations take up with other agencies the advisability of a protest against all injustices perpetrated by any government against any religious group.

The recommendation was adopted.

III.

WHEREAS, it is highly desirable that the largest possible publicity be given promptly to the papers, reports, addresses and sermons presented at the annual conventions of the Conference; and

WHEREAS, only a limited number of copies of the Yearbook is printed and the general public has neither knowledge of their content nor access to them; and

WHEREAS, it is at present construed by the executive officers of the Conference that the copyrighting of the Yearbook precludes the right of prior publication of these papers, addresses and sermons in our denominational press; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that no restrictions whatever be put upon the publication prior to the appearance of the Year-

book or subsequent thereto of any literary matter presented to the Conference.

(Signed) JOSEPH STOLZ,
CHARLES S. LEVI,
MORRIS NEWFIELD,
LOUIS WOLSEY,
WILLIAM ROSENAU.

It was moved and adopted that no paper assigned to be read before a convention of the Conference shall be given to any newspaper or magazine for publication before its presentation to the Conference and not until a copy shall have been given to the editor of the Yearbook.

IV.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that its Finance Committee when investing Conference funds be governed by social as well as monetary considerations and refrain from purchasing securities in industries whose standards of wages, hours and working conditions are comparatively low.

ABRAHAM CRONBACH,
H. W. ETTELSON,
LOUIS L. MANN,
ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution, knowing that such is already the practice of the Conference.

The recommendation was adopted.

V.

WHEREAS, the holding of the Conference in the summer is open to disadvantage, firstly that it finds many of our men mentally and physically fatigued after the exactions of the year's duties; and

WHEREAS, the summer sessions tend to limit the choice of place of our meetings to summer resorts, thus depriving us of the opportunity to present the aims and purposes of the Conference directly to our communities; and

WHEREAS, an increasing number of our loyal members are forced to be absent from our meetings by reason of trips abroad; and

WHEREAS, the summer sessions prevent our members from bringing to their respective congregations the aspirations and decisions of the Confer-

ence at a time when they are fresh and most effective, and all the more since the congregations recognize the value of the Conference by their willingness in many instances to defray the expenses of their rabbis at our meeting; be it

Resolved, That the Executive Board be requested to take under advisement the desirability and feasibility of holding the sessions either in the fall, directly after the holidays, or in the spring, between Purim and Passover.

(Signed)	SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON,	EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
	WILLIAM ROSENAU,	SAMUEL SCHULMAN,
	HARRY W. ETTELSON,	EPHRAIM FRISCH,
	HORACE J. WOLF,	DAVID MARX,
	ISRAEL BETTAN,	MORRIS NEWFIELD,
	JULIAN MORGENSTERN,	LEO M. FRANKLIN,
	DAVID PHILLIPSON,	CHARLES S. LEVI.
	NATHAN STERN,	

Your Committee concurs in the recommendation that this be referred to the Executive Board for careful consideration.

The recommendation was adopted.

VI.

Be it *Resolved*, That the Executive Board of this Conference be instructed to draw up and to propose to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations plans for the joint administration of religious work for Jewish students in American colleges and universities.

EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
HORACE J. WOLF,
HARRY W. ETTELSON.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution and suggests that details be arranged by the Executive Board.

The recommendation was adopted.

VII.

Be it *Resolved*, That the Executive Board of this Conference be instructed to arrange the 1925 meeting of the Conference just prior to the 1925 meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and in St. Louis, Mo.,; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Board propose to the Executive Committee of the Union that one joint session of the two organizations be held at that time.

EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
DAVID PHILIPSON.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the 1924 Convention of the Conference for action.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

VIII.

WHEREAS, the three great religions whose interests center in Palestine are alike concerned in the rehabilitation of that land under the beneficent sway of Great Britain; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis lend its aid and influence to the creation of a broad program of practical measures to enlist all the peoples, Jews, Christians and Mohammedans alike, in the furtherance of this common purpose; be it further

Resolved, That the Commission on Co-operation with National Organizations be instructed to take this matter into serious consideration and report thereon to the Conference.

(Signed) HENRY BERKOWITZ,
DAVID PHILIPSON.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its reference to the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations for favorable consideration.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

IX.

Resolved, That in appreciation of the deep significance of its explorations in Palestine for the furtherance of Jewish knowledge the Central Conference of American Rabbis pledges itself for an annual subvention of one hundred dollars to the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH,
DAVID PHILIPSON,

JAMES G. HELLER,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
HYMAN G. ENELOW,
SAMUEL S. COHON.

Your Committee approves of this subvention and recommends the payment for this year but feels this is a matter that should be dealt with annually rather than bind future conferences.

The original resolution—namely, that the subvention be made an annual one was carried.

X.

Resolved, That a Committee on Marriage and Divorce be appointed, which shall bring to the next meeting of the Conference a report on such traditional marriage laws as might be in conflict with our modern interpretation, like the Levirate Halizah. All members of the Conference shall receive a special communication informing them of the appointment of this committee, and urging them to submit to the committee for consideration and report any question on marriage and divorce on which they desire an expression of opinion from the Conference.

(Signed) DAVID PHILIPSON,
H. G. ENELOW,
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Commission on Marriage and Divorce Laws with the request that it report at the next convention on this and kindred subjects.

The recommendation was adopted.

XI.

Believing that the economic and the moral interests of the United States are inseparably bound up with the welfare of the world; and that America's favored position imposes a corresponding duty, and

Believing that organization to promote international understanding and co-operation is the most effective way to abolish war in the future and thereby save civilization from collapse,

We, therefore, approve most heartily the proposal of President Harding that the United States give its support to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and urge the speedy advice and consent of the Senate to that proposal.

Further, we urge the President of the United States to push forward the fulfilment of his promise of an association of nations by taking the proper step for making the United States a member of the existing League

of 52 nations on such terms as will be consistent with the honor and dignity of our Republic.

S. H. GOLDENSON,
J. I. MEYEROVITZ,
HARRY LEVI,
FELIX A. LEVY,
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER,

SIMON COHEN,
STEPHEN S. WISE,
SAMUEL J. ABRAMS,
ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN,
DAVID LEVY.

Your Committee concurs in the third paragraph of this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was then presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Nominations begs leave to make the following report:

Honorary President, Kaufman Kohler.
President, Abram Simon.
Vice-President, Louis Wolsey.
Treasurer, Morris Newfield.
Recording Secretary, Isaac E. Marcuson.
Corresponding Secretary, Morris S. Lazaron.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, 1923-1926

Edward N. Calisch	Sol L. Kory
Hyman G. Enelow	Emil W. Leipziger

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Samuel H. Goldenson	Eugene Mannheimer
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Respectfully submitted,

HARRY W. ETTELSON, *Chairman*,
BARNETT R. BRICKNER,
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF,
EPHRAIM FRISCH,

EDWARD L. ISRAEL,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
MEYER LOVITCH.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was unanimously adopted, and the Recording Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the officers, members of the Executive Board, and the Conference representatives nominated in the report.

Rabbi Calisch called the newly elected President, Rabbi Abram Simon, to the Chair and turned over to him the gavel.

Rabbi Calisch: In turning over to you the gavel of office, I wish to say that the position of President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis is one of distinction and honor, that any man may be proud to achieve. And as for myself, personally, by your gracious indulgence, I have been able to enjoy that distinction and I desire again to express my profound appreciation not merely of the indulgence that put me into office but the continuance of it during my term of office. I have felt that I have had something to which I could live up to with all the strength that was in me and look back to the rest of my life, as something that has been one of its brightest periods, and I feel that in giving up the office now it is being turned over not only to worthy hands but to one who by his native ability and his intellectual strength will carry the Conference on to even greater heights than have been reached before.

Rabbi Simon: I cannot hide from myself the pride which such an honor inspires in me, nor yet the chastening humility which it evokes. There is nothing I so covet as the privilege of being linked with the men who have made the Central Conference of American Rabbis so potent a force, so great an influence in American Israel, and I should be very, very happy if at the end of the year it shall be your expression that I have merited this honor and really won your confidence.

Many honors have come to me in the past year, but none so high and none so great a challenge to all that is best in me as this.

I thank you most heartily for it. I want your warmest co-operation and I can only trust that the term of office which I now begin to hold will be one which will reflect as much credit upon you as I trust it will upon me.

The closing prayer and benediction were pronounced by Rabbi Morgenstern. The session closed with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and *En Kelohenu* by all the members of the Conference.

The Conference adjourned *sine die*.

The following amendments to the Constitution were introduced, and action thereon was postponed until the next convention of the Conference.

That Article III, Section I, shall be amended by the insertion of the words: Jewish professors in Semitic academies or faculties. The Article, as amended, to read:

ARTICLE III—*Membership*

SECTION I. Rabbis, active or retired, who are graduates of a rabbinical seminary, professors of rabbinical seminaries, Jewish professors in Semitic academies or faculties, and ministers, not graduates of a rabbinical seminary, who have been in the ministry five (5) years and who have been officiating as rabbi for one and the same congregation three (3) consecutive years shall be eligible to membership. All applications for membership shall be acted upon by the Executive Board.

Also to omit from Article III, Section I, given above, the words, *and ministers, not graduates of a rabbinical seminary, who have been in the ministry five (5) years and who have been officiating as rabbi for one and the same congregation three (3) consecutive years.*

The following amendment was offered by the Committee on Solicitation of Funds:

We recommend that the By-laws of the Conference be amended so as to read:

(n. On Solicitation of Funds). "Amending Article III, Section 14: The Committee on Solicitation of Funds shall consist of no less than five or more than fifteen members, whose duty it shall be to appeal to congregations and laymen for donations to the Relief Fund of the Conference. Further amending Section 14 so as to make the present section be numbered 15."

The following amendment was offered by the Committee on Nominations:

To amend Article VI, Section 1, to read: "These twelve members of the Executive Board shall hold office for two years or until their successors are elected. At the convention at which this amendment is adopted four members shall be elected, of which two shall hold office for one and two for two years, and thereafter six members shall be elected for two years."

APPENDIX

A

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

If it be true that "happy is the people that has no history" it might be thought that the lot of the Jewish people during the past year was a fortunate one, for no events of outstanding importance have been recorded during the past twelve months. Yet the Jewish lot has by no means been a particularly felicitous one. It is true that conditions are slowly improving but they leave much to be desired. The aggressive anti-Semitic movement that was resurrected in Germany at the close of the war, is fostered in Germany still today by a number of organizations of various descriptions, all claiming themselves to be actuated by a so-styled "patriotic" (völkerische) motive. In reality they are agents of monarchist aspirations, hoping to achieve their ends by making the Jew as ever the scapegoat for present evils. While there may be less physical violence against the Jew in Germany than elsewhere in continental Europe, it has none-the-less been the focus of infection of the European body politic, and from it the virus of anti-Semitic poison has spread. The manifestations thereof in Poland, Roumania, Hungary and Austria are evident. England and even America were not too remote to feel its effect. But it appears that the crisis has been passed and we may look forward to a gradual lowering of the

fever of active and passionate hatred to the normal level of traditional prejudice.

The saddest feature is the agitation in the universities. The students' revolts, the attacks on Jewish professors, the inauguration of the *numerus clausus* are disheartening phenomena. But "this too shall pass."

In our own country the signs of improvement are gratefully evident. Deliberate anti-Jewish propaganda, though not altogether ceasing, is lessening. Likewise the activities and influence of the Ku Klux Klan. The outcome of the Harvard agitation is most gratifying. The bold and unequivocal position, in defense of academic freedom against all forms of racial and religious discrimination, taken in the unanimous report of the committee cannot help but be widely and beneficently influential. Let us pray that this influence may be felt in European universities.

There is one unpleasant incident that is to be noticed. The victory gained in connection with the Sargent picture in the Boston Public Library has been nullified. A bill has been passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts extending the operation of the act, to remove the picture, until July 1st, 1924. There is a sentiment in favor of its repeal and the attorneys representing the Library and the Sargent interests, are prepared to go to the utmost length to prevent the removal of the picture. What the outcome will be is uncertain.

The agitation regarding sacramental wines, though by no means definitely settled, has quieted down. I would not undertake to say that there are no evasions and violations of the law in this direction, whether by Jews or by non-Jews posing as Jews, but they are not so openly flagrant and impudent as heretofore. Whether they have ceased to any great degree or whether they have been overshadowed by the growing proportions of the larger prohibition problem itself may not be known, but we can rejoice that we have not had the unhappy notoriety and the consequent "hillul Hashem" that characterized the several preceding years. The fine stand taken by our Conference for the past three years has been very helpful. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at its meeting in New York, followed the path of the

Conference in adopting a resolution and having it endorsed by the congregations throughout the country, declaring that the "use of fermented wines or spiritous liquors for Jewish sacramental purposes is unnecessary." Likewise recently the Jewish community of a prominent western city, has taken similar action. The Conference is to be congratulated upon its leadership in this direction.

Our real danger, however, lies not in the attacks of our enemies from without. The peril from within is greater. Despite the seeming growth of religious interest, evidenced in the building of handsome and commodious synagogues, in the widening observance of the Seder and the Confirmation services, in newly organized brotherhoods and sisterhoods, one cannot say that all is well with Israel. The number of the unaffiliated is large. The indifference of great numbers even among the affiliated is a thing that cannot be glossed over. The spiritual unresponsiveness of so large a proportion of our congregation chills the ardor of the most enthusiastic leaders, and gives but feeble promise for the coming years. This generation has little of the intensity of conviction that characterized the fathers. We may smile at the belligerency of a day that fought bitterly over the questions of "hats on" or "hats off," of dietary laws, of the separation of the sexes at worship, of one or two days' holiday observance. It is possible that those who then contended may have had narrow views, restricted by mechanically followed customs and clouded by a crowded ceremonialism. But at least they had views. The Jew of today has none. He does not even attempt to grope his way. He is carried hither and yon by the tide of circumstance, listlessly following the line of least resistance, and recklessly dissipating the store of spiritual power heaped up by the generations gone.

It is no insignificant sign of the times that so influential an organization as the Presbyterian Board of National Missions should hold, as they did on June 5th, 6th and 7th, at Princeton Theological Seminary Buildings, a special interdenominational conference to "evangelize the 3,900,000 Jews of America, most of whom are said by the leaders of the movement to be religiously adrift." It is no new thing to attempt to proselytize

the Jews. It is a new feature that this should be based on the ground that "most of them are religiously adrift." The Jews have been accused of many things. It is a new thing for them to be accused before the world of lack of religion, of being religious derelicts in the ocean of humanity.

At the Jubilee Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in January last, speaker after speaker struck the same note, stressed the imminent danger of a religiously ignorant, untaught and unbelieving generation, following upon the heels of an indifferent one. The cry "back to the synagog," voiced by so many leaders in Israel, evidenced the apprehension that was felt by these earnest-minded and devout men and women over the conditions that obtain. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, My people do not consider—they have contemned the Holy One of Israel, they have strayed away backward."

We, the spiritual leaders, the responsible guardians of the moral and religious life of our people cannot be less concerned. It is time that we struck some positive, aggressive note, the trumpet tone of a triumphant faith. There must be some definite rallying point for the scattered hosts of Israel, some battle-cry that, welling from the depths of a convinced faith, they can fling full-throated to the heavens.

The leaders of Zionism claim to have found such rallying point, to have sounded such a cry in their struggle for the possession of Eretz Yisroel; a 20th century crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land. Not for a moment would I deny that this has appealed to many Jews in many lands. To the troubled tens of thousands of Eastern Europe, heartsick with misery, footsore with the endless wanderings of an endless exile, bent beneath the bitter burdens of an encompassing hatred that has heaped all manner of horror and humiliation upon them, to them the vision of a restoration to the land of the fathers where each could sit safely under his vine or fig-tree with none to make afraid, was as an opening of heaven itself. To many thousands of Jews in western lands, whose lines are cast in pleasanter places, this thought of a resurrected Jewish homeland came also with

an alluring appeal. Zionism became a force to be reckoned with in modern Israel. The Zionists are asking us why we do not join hands with them. I would to God we had been able to join with them, to find that in Zionism to which we could fully and freely subscribe. Would to God that its leaders had not been led astray by their enthusiasm to place Zionism before Judaism, and to sacrifice the latter to promote the former. It is true that Zionism has aroused interest and enthusiasm among many who had been indifferent to, and even alienated from, their father's faith, yet history has for us but one lesson, and that is that Judaism comes before Jewry.

I will not weary you with a recital of things known to all, suffice to say that we did try to join hands with an organization that represented help for Israel and that we believed was free from those insistences which had hitherto prevented our co-operation. An agreement was entered into with the Palestine Development Council, for co-operative activity in the physical rehabilitation of Palestine. This agreement for joint effort was "predicated upon the understanding that neither party, as an organization, is committed to any political-nationalist program," (Year Book XXXII, p. 70).

In Dec., 1922, the Palestine Development Council formally joined forces with the Keren Hayesod. While it was stated that this was for one specific purpose only, I feel that this official joining with the Keren Hayesod commits the Palestine Development Council, as an organization, and through it the Conference, to the ideas and principles which the Keren Hayesod promulgates, and which are political and nationalistic. I therefore recommend that the agreement with the Palestine Development Council be suspended until a new committee, to be appointed, shall confer with them and agree as to an interpretation of how far this "understanding" may permit either side to go officially and as an organization.

Our responsibility, however, does not cease either with co-operation or abstention from co-operation in the task of the merely physical rehabilitation of the holy land. At its best rebuilding and reoccupation of Palestine will not solve the problem. The difficulty lies deeper.

Our task is the solution of that difficulty. It may not possess the glamour of seemingly large or heroic achievement. It may not call for the hysterics of emotionalism. It is none-the-less the duty of the hour, and it does mean the salvation of Israel. It is to be achieved by the steady, persistent, continuous up-building of the religious responsiveness and the spiritual morale of our scattered hosts. "Back to the synagogue" is no ignoble slogan. But the synagogue to which they are invited back must be one that firmly fixed on the foundations of our ancient and hallowed faith, shall yet be responsive to the spirit of the twentieth century, that shall have an appeal to the mind and heart of all classes, to the learned and the unlearned, to the young and the old, to the doubting period of college years as well as to the credulous age of childhood, and the later years sobered by trial and struggle.

Our first move in this direction is to establish a standard of scholarship and dignity and honor for the leaders of the synagogue. The Conference has done much to raise the standard of the rabbinate by its qualifications for membership. To be a member of this Conference has a meaning. It is in a measure a credential of character and ability. It has added moral stature to the title of Rabbi. It should be our care to guard this title in every way and if possible to render it so, that only those may use it who have worthily won it. There have been those who assumed the title of Rabbi who had no right thereto, and whose bearing has not tended to bring good repute to the name of Judaism. I strongly urge that the members of the Conference seek to "raise up many disciples" by inducing and training young men to enter the ministry. But they should assure themselves of the spiritual and moral character of those whom they would train. We should be jealous of the dignity of the title of Rabbi, and ourselves refrain, and teach others to refrain, from using it indiscriminately.

- II I recommend, therefore, that in our own publications care be taken that the title of Rabbi be coupled only with the names of those who have a right thereto, and further

that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations be communicated with, calling their attention to this fact, and requesting that in all their publications and correspondence, they should likewise be punctilious in the use of the title, not to bestow it irresponsibly and unworthily; that in conjunction with the Union a complete list of the graduates of the theological seminaries in America be compiled, together with the dates of their ordination and of the positions they have held; also that in our year book, with the list of membership shall be given the positions held by each member during the preceding ten years. Once this record is made, its maintenance is an easy matter,—yet one of great and increasing value.

Our next duty is a campaign of education for the laity,—an organized campaign for both Jew and non-Jew, by the Conference as a body; not a desultory, spasmodic effort, but a sustained, continuous exposition of the world-ideals of our faith as interpreted by modern American Judaism.

It is an age of religious reconstruction. Old creeds are assailed, old doctrines are denounced as inefficient. Men are readjusting their religious outlook to meet the demands of a new conception of social, scientific and industrial conditions and relationships. There is a new gospel of life being sought. Judaism, more than any other religion has in its own breast the spirit of this new faith. The visions of our great prophets are one with the aspirations of the noblest minds of today. Why should we not make known this spirit, these visions, the wonderful interpretation of life and duty and God that are our distinctive possession? I recommend that the incoming Executive

III Board be instructed to arrange for the preparation of a paper, to be submitted to the Conference for adoption, that will be a formulation of the theology of American Judaism, and a statement of the principles in the light of the needs and the problems of the present day.

Here is an opportunity for us to do service to mankind, unrivalled since the day the Christian savior came into the world. We have no quarrel with the daughter faith. It has served

to bring humanity through the preparatory stages of religious progress. It is an hour now when its distinctive accretions are becoming outworn. It is turning back to the solid foundations of the mother religion, the basic doctrines of righteousness and justice and humble faith as the motives of human relationships and the strength and the solace of the individual soul in all the experiences of life.

A decided tendency in modern religious thought is the weakening of traditional theologies and the emergence of the ideals of social responsibility. Not a few leaders of the Christian Church are discarding its distinctively Christological dogmas and turning toward the simpler teachings of an humble faith that predicates a sincere "imitatio Dei" rather than a "credo quia impossibile" as the essence of religion. Though sectarian partisanship may deny it, yet consciously or unconsciously Christianity is becoming less and less pagan and more and more Jewish. A circle that diverged through twenty centuries is closing. Its ends are drawing together. Mother and daughter are beginning to see each other face to face as the fogs of these two thousand years are clearing. Should not we help toward this imminent reconciliation by the wide promulgation of a Judaism that too is removing the accretions that have grown on it in the passage of the years, and that too is in full accord with the nobler view obtainable from the mist-cleared heights of a finer, more loving and brotherly vision? Should not we, even the more readily, acclaim this devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation? For it is after all only the fulfilment of the dreams of our prophets of old, and the realization of the splendid visions of their inspired minds and hearts.

For this we must enter upon a campaign of education. Our ammunition for this campaign is in our publications, particularly the tracts and pamphlets that we have printed. They are of fine character and of great value. But their influence is restricted within a very limited compass. In comparison with the tremendous amount of literature put forth by other denominational organizations, ours is not only pitifully small, but such as it is, it is confined practically to our own people, and to a

very narrow circle of them. We must "enlarge the place of our tent, and stretch forth the curtains of our habitations, and spare not; lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes, for we shall spread abroad on the right hand and on the left."

The Commission on Tracts has published some excellent documents for instruction, for interpretation, and for defense. But the bulk of them rests on the shelves of the storeroom, being decently buried beneath accumulating dust. I recommend that

the Commission on Tracts, or, if it be the wisdom of the
IV Conference, a newly created and specific committee, be instructed to make arrangements for the greater production and wider distribution of such literature as will set forth the ideas and doctrines of American Judaism to the world at large; that they shall also arrange for the printing of tracts in Yiddish, so that our orthodox brothers may learn what are the principles and aspirations of our American Judaism; and that for this purpose, an adequate sum be appropriated for the first year's work. I further recommend that laymen be invited
V to join with us in this movement.

In this connection I desire to call your attention to the publications of the past year, the new edition of Vol. II. of the prayer book, the revised Haggadah and the Book of Meditations and Prayers. The new version of Vol. II. of the prayer book supports this recommendation I have just made. This volume created a profound impression upon Jew and non-Jew alike. Certain passages from it were quoted at length in the press, secular as well as religious, and freely commented upon as sounding a new and vigorous note in liturgical literature, one that had a definite application to the problems of modern life. This fact served to demonstrate that Judaism is a living, vital force, whose ideals and doctrines, though begotten in the mists of ancient days, are none the less, when rightly interpreted, universal in appeal and eternal in vigor, because theirs is the power of God's own truth. It is the imperative duty of the Conference to make this right interpretation known far and wide.

The revised Hagaddah met with instant and universal approval. The Book of Meditations and Prayers has not yet had time to

prove itself, but in my humble judgment it is an excellent production and will fill a great want. The committees that had charge of these labors, and particularly their Chairmen, deserve the grateful appreciation of the Conference.

There is another volume that is needed. Last year I recommended that steps be taken toward the publication of a shortened form of the Bible, one that shall have all of the essential history, ethical teachings and spiritual power of the sacred volume, but without much of the material that is not only irrelevant and unnecessary but that in fact militates against the reading or study of the Bible by the average layman. This refers particularly to the narrative portions, and not to the psalms, prophets and wisdom books.

The Bible, and I speak of it with a love and a reverence second to none,—does contain passages, that are of interest only from the scientific-historical point of view, but that we cannot even with the best intention say are conducive to reverence or moral impulse.

Earnest and reverent scholars are engaged in the effort to bring the Bible up to date by phrasing it "in the light of the twentieth century." A lectureship foundation has been established "to make accessible to men and women in general the results of the researches of modern scholars." Shall we, who are the givers of the Bible, be less concerned with its relevancy to modern life and its application to modern problems? The conception of the Bible has undergone a radical change. It is no longer considered as an infallible volume, with every portion equally inspired and equally valuable. Why should we, who have learned to differentiate between its parts, hesitate to acquaint our lay men and women with this differentiation? Why do we insist upon putting moral and intellectual stumbling blocks before the blind, or laying an ethical curse upon those scholastically deaf?

I made a recommendation in my message of last year for the "issue of an edition of what, for want of a better name, I called a 'practical Bible.'" The name is immaterial. But there should be "an edition that shall give the story of the Bible, from Genesis to Chronicles, but that shall omit such matter as may appear to

be unnecessary or irrelevant to conditions of modern life. This edition, to be small in size and price, shall have chapter headings and very brief explanatory notes to guide the average reader." That recommendation was referred to the Joint Commission on Text Books (Year Book, page 84). I am under the impression that nothing has been done. I therefore again

VI recommend that a specific committee on Bible publication be created, and instructed to undertake the task of preparing such an edition of the Bible.

The activities and influence of the Conference are growing greater each year. The work done by the officers and committees becomes each year of greater magnitude and is a severe strain upon men whose time and energy are already occupied with the multifarious duties of their profession. But the work is done, as a rule, effectively and conscientiously and the results will be laid before you in the reports of the several committees. I commend them to your careful consideration. I desire, but with no thought of invidious discrimination, to call your attention to the reports of two committees, for the reason that their work is of far-reaching importance. I refer to the Committee on Solicitation of Funds and the Commission on Social Justice.

The Committee on Solicitation of Funds, of this past year, under the chairmanship of Rabbi Lazon, has done excellently. The sum collected is larger than has been gathered heretofore. But even so this sum is pitifully inadequate for its purpose. The funds collected are placed to the credit of the Relief Fund, which gives aid to superannuated and infirm Rabbis and to the widows and orphans of Rabbis. The amounts given are a mere pittance and a subject for tears and shame. For some years the Committee on Relief and the Commission on Synagogue Pension Fund has been trying to work out a plan for relief and pension in conjunction with a committee from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. But thus far to no purpose. Plans have been prepared, at considerable expense by expert actuaries, only to be found unworkable. Nothing has been accomplished. Meanwhile a large sum, given for this particular purpose, has been in the hands of the Union, lying idle and drawing interest.

A year ago this sum amounted to \$126,595.76. Today it is \$132,128.50. The Union refuses to use any of this fund,—even the interest, for relief or pension, on the ground that it cannot act until a definite plan has been adopted. Such a plan seems no nearer adoption today than it was four years ago. It seems to me that the Union is doing an injustice both to the present pensioners and to the donors of the fund. At a time when a depreciated dollar almost cuts in half the value of the pensions that the Conference is giving out of its sparse funds, there is neither honor nor equity in standing upon a technicality.

VII I recommend that the Conference by resolution declare its sentiments in this connection and urge the Committee of the Union to begin to carry out the purpose of that fund by joining the Conference in the support of its needy and deserving pensioners.

The Commission on Social Justice has a unique place among the standing committees of our body. More than any other it has come to represent the Conference and American Israel before the world at large, for the reason that it occupies a field in which Judaism joins with other great religious forces in the attempt to solve the problems of modern industrial and commercial life. What the commission has done you will learn from its report. I desire, however, to commend the work of this committee as blazing a pathway for the co-operation of Judaism with these other religious forces in the effort to bring moral and religious influence toward the solution of the pressing problems of our present civilization. There are great potentialities in this co-operative action. With the insistences on dogmatic theology grown weaker, with ancient creeds losing their binding force,—with greater emphasis laid upon simple faith and righteous deed, there are great possibilities that the wide chasms of the religious hatreds of medieval days will be greatly lessened if not altogether bridged. We were derelict in our duty to our own honored and beloved faith did we fail to join hands in this humanizing movement. Judaism's hope is for humanity, not for itself. Every unselfish service brings nearer the advent of the messianic day. There is no opportunity for service greater

than that in which we bring to the consciousness of men the ideals of our inter-human responsibility and educate the popular conscience to the lofty standards of social justice, of national and international righteousness,—of a world-compassing human brotherhood and the one divine fatherhood. We cannot sulk in the tents of resentment or of wounded pride. We must be, in the face of all things, “the witnesses of God and His servants.” In spite of the darkness of the present world-chaos the dawn of a new day is near at hand. Esau and Jacob shall become reconciled. Ephraim and Menasseh shall join hands in the gatherings of the harvests of human hope and human happiness that shall be grown in the fields of a united human labor. Let this Conference as the organized voice of American Judaism speak out boldly and unafraid in the call to prepare in the wilderness a pathway for the God of us all.

A joyous event marked the past year in that our honored and beloved Honorary President, Dr. Kaufman Kohler, attained his eightieth birthday on May 10th. He was acclaimed not only by his colleagues but by all the world of Jewish scholarship. Deserved honors and praise were showered upon him, and greetings from the four corners of the earth attested to the high position he holds in the admiration and affection of all Israel, and of the non-Jewish scholarly world. We, his nearer colleagues, many of us disciples who have sat at his feet and received our ordination at his hands, rejoiced with him and his dear ones in this recognition not only of his scholarly attainments and leadership, but also of his profound worth as a man and of the modest and lovable personality that has endeared him to the hearts of countless thousands. In the name of the Conference a suitable message had been sent to him on the occasion of the celebration, but as a further mark of our esteem and af-

VIII fection I recommend that this year’s edition of the Year Book be dedicated to him with suitable introductory inscription and with his picture as frontispage.

It is a sad duty that compels us each year to record the passing of some of our members. Since our last meeting five of our colleagues have been called to their eternal reward. The memories of

Louis Bernstein,
Emil G. Hirsch,
Joseph Krauskopf,
Samuel Mendelsohn,
Leopold Wintner,

will remain with us and with those whom they served so ably as a lasting possession making for blessing.

CONCLUSION

In coming to the end of my term of office I wish to express my keen appreciation of the high honor you have conferred upon me. If a citizen of old could say of his native city, "I am a citizen of no mean state," the president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis can say with greater pride, "I have been president of no mean body." It has been my constant effort to hold that office worthily, to fulfil its duties in a manner befitting its dignity and responsibility. In whatever measure of success I may have had in this direction I have been greatly aided by the officers and committees, and by the membership at large. To you all I express my grateful appreciation, and my very earnest prayer that the Conference may continue to grow in influence and strength, that its members all, present and prospective, may be granted the blessings of an increasing power for noble work in the vineyard of our ancient faith, and of the great peace and happiness of gathering in gladness the harvests of your sowing.

Respectfully and fraternally submitted,

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

B

THE UNIQUENESS OF ISRAEL—CONFERENCE
LECTURE

FELIX A. LEVY

The biblical portions for the week's reading are a veritable paradise for the homiletist. The unusual story of Balaam, the heathen seer, hired to curse Israel, who in spite of himself blesses the chosen people, is glowingly recounted by the scriptural narrator. And as if the pentateuchal reference to the gentile prophet were insufficient, the Haphtarah, the most famous chapter of Micah, is selected because he is mentioned therein by name.

Whatever the critical view of our rubric may be, the Jewish genius saw in this episode characteristics of its own individuality and peculiarity; especially do the words which the story-teller puts into the mouth of the chief actor, the hereditary foe, converted against his own inclinations into a grudging admirer, reveal the Jew's own interpretation of his existence, his philosophy of Jewish life.

Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone

And shall not be reckoned among the nations.

—Numbers, XXIII, 9.

In these words, legend, which is often nearer to truth than history, has expressed the Jew's point of view of himself, his standpoint from the beginning of his own career, which is, that he is not a people like other peoples, included in the number of nations. According to this, his own explanation of himself, the Jew is *sui generis*, not necessarily anti-nationalist, possibly super or beyond nationalism, and therefore he cannot be judged in the manner of other peoples. He is individual, peculiar, different by history, nature and outlook. And Micah, in the daily additional

portion, in what has become for us the classic definition of religion, indicates one side of Jewish distinctiveness.

We may well ask, if Israel defies the usual connotation of "people", what right has it to be called such? While for Israel, as for others, common descent, geographical boundaries and racial affinity contributed in the formation of the people and in shaping its career, the Jew's explanation of his *raison d'être* never took these factors into great account. He defended his essentiality on ethical rather than ethnical grounds, for he felt that he was a people mainly by virtue of the possession of his Torah and the obligation assumed to observe it. The Torah was the unifying element that made an Israel, breathing into the scattered members life and a consciousness of life, so that whether Israel was at home or abroad, or both, he was *one* through his Torah. This can be observed throughout Jewish history. The centripetal force that made for group cohesion in the nomads at the foot of Sinai, in the divided, miserable communities re-organized by Ezra and Nehemiah, in the synagogue of the *diaspora* was the Law. Mishna and Talmud, the Gaonate, the congregational system of Poland and Lithuania, and even the modern religious reforms in Jewry, all served the same end—the preservation of the unity of Jew and Judaism—and all were projections of the concept Torah. This unity of Israel, created by the people's consecration to the Law was consciously felt as the bond of union by all Jews and was noticed as such by discerning Gentiles. The Jew was ruled by the single passion impelling him to the high destiny of declaring to the world the words of one of his teachers, "God, the Torah and Israel are one." It is quite evident, then, that Israel *did* differ from other peoples. Stripped as it was of everything that might impede spiritual progress,—land, social and economic polity, desire for conquest—reducing to a necessary minimum all secular activities and desires, including even profane knowledge, the Jew had to introvert, his life had to center in himself, so that his religion or his culture took on a peculiar aspect. It did not become simply a part of his life or even its center, it became life itself. With this attitude there had to grow up a disregard or almost a contempt for worldly achievements and for material

accomplishments. The people different from all others followed that teacher of the Mishna, who taught that all trades and professions contain unethical or unspiritual elements; that gain is akin to robbery and that the only thing fit for the Jew to do to remain pure and untainted, true to his calling and peculiarity, was the study of the Law.

I dwell on this, perhaps a bit too lengthily, because it seems to me to be important for the proper understanding of Jewish uniqueness. That a people should deliberately reject *all* worldly ambition and seek unity in a common ideal, most distantly remote from ordinary life, is one of the marvels of history. Not even the Greek, with his passionate quest for beauty, a magnificent ideal, likewise, felt as close to *his* brother because of a mutual sharing of high aspirations, as did the Jew to his. Greek unity was philosophical, never actual, while the Jewish unity was both. Whereas Hellenic unity after the Periclean age degenerated with the split-up of the land and the common ideal, the Jew, in spite of similar political misfortune and national calamity, continued throughout his subsequent career, unbroken in rank and unyielding in ideals, keeping his group solidarity and integrity intact. It is not idle fancy which enables us to say that the Jew of Bokhara was as close to the Jew of Fez, or the Jew of Toledo as near to his Amsterdam co-religionist as though they had been members of the same local community, for many a medieval chronicle proves this. Nor would the Jewish instinct ever permit extraneous or secular loyalties to divide his immediate allegiance to his own cause. He had learned by experience, as, for example, from the case of the Sadducees, that such dichotomy of interest was dissipation of energy, carrying in itself the threat of disappearance. While others could yield fealty to bishop or to feudal prince, the Jew kept his distinguishing mark by remaining firm in an exclusive devotion to the Torah or to the Holy Land which was but another phase of the same loyalty. Centuries of effort had enabled the Jew to purge himself of all desire to immerse himself thoroughly in the life of his own spirit, so that he lived in a spiritual as well as a physical ghetto. And who can say but that the advantages outweighed the losses?

With the growth of the modern state and the influence of newer political theories, both these ghettos, visible and invisible, in which the Jew lived, were razed. He no longer dwelt alone, nor was he satisfied to do so. He wanted to be reckoned among the nations. This desire for nationalistic self-expression took two forms, Jewish nationalism (which hitherto had been only a longing) and secular nationalism, or Zionism and Reform Judaism. Since we are primarily interested in the latter, it may be well to remind you of what Dr. Kohler (May he live to one hundred years in vigor!) writes, "A complete change in the religious aspiration of the Jew was brought about by the transformation of his political status and hopes in the nineteenth century." (Theology, page 388). That is to say, you are confronted with the unusual phenomenon of the Jew's modifying his religion to make it agree with the accepted political theories, themselves an outgrowth of eighteenth century humanitarianism. When religion was no longer central to Christian thought and was supplanted by nationalism (as in turn this, we hope, will give way to internationalism), the Jew, too, shifted his base from religion to political rights. Emancipation became the watchword of the erstwhile religious community, for it saw therein the possibility of realization of its own dream of brotherhood. That the aforementioned humanitarianism would be succeeded by the particularistic philosophies of the nineteenth century, which had for their practical outcome all kinds of national and economic exploitation, neither the Jew nor any one else could foresee. Through it all, however, we have kept, more or less, to the change of emphasis made in Jewish life and desire, being, for the most part, still more concerned, as Lazarus has it, with the fatherland than with the Father above. Nor has the Jew gained as much as he had hoped thereby, in opportunity to express not in words but in deed, his uniqueness, as the history of the last century testifies.

Opinions may differ as to whether we have succeeded in any measure in fulfilling the prophecy of Balaam, but I do not think there can be any dispute over the fact that the Jews of today are more split up than ever before, absorbed by the nationalities which harbor them; and they are proud of this. While there yet may be

present a feeling of group solidarity, this is not as strong by far as it used to be, nor is the object to preserve it as paramount in importance as once it was. We have made a *volteface* in our thinking by coming to the conclusion that land, constitution and political equality are our greatest needs, and when we have not adopted these elements from the social, political and economic life about us, we have tried to manufacture a brand of our own by launching the movement for Jewish national restoration. The internationally dispersed people has become for the most part national in outlook and the Jewish universal prospect is therefore rejected by the one division of our people which contends that a nationalism of our own must be the step to the broader concept or is made part of religious creed by that other portion of Jewry that calls itself liberally religious. Neither party sees that the Jew's uniqueness may lie in the rejection of the entire thought of nationalism, based on racial grounds; that citizenship in Palestine or out of it is not the goal of existence for a priest people. Farther on in Scripture we read that the covenant of an everlasting priesthood is peace, and one cannot help wondering if Israel true to this ideal of peace might not have been a stronger champion on its behalf, striving to avert wars wherein Jew kills Jew, or men slaughter men. I like to think of the Jew as the proponent of peace universal, dwelling alone with his ideal, not counted among the nations, but of them, nevertheless, pouring out upon them of his spirit. But such a community we are not. Instead of stressing the universal note, we Jews adjective our Judaism and our people and so divide and dilute the allegiance to those things that are to make us one, a peculiar and a pattern people. We are no longer, as I see it, כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל—the congregation of Israel, the universal church, the community of body and soul that we became since the exile, but we are split up into fragments of national and linguistic denominations, with a vague feeling of race as the only strand left that binds us together. Are we the spiritual brotherhood that we ought to be? What cements the Jews of the world together into an עַם אֶחָד? Our religion, our culture, our idealism? Surely, no longer. All that remains is an attenuated historic consciousness, a thin group spirit that makes

for all sorts of Jewish unions ranging from radical labor organizations to the mystic aberrations of some of our people. And even this remnant of common feeling is kept alive by the artificial respiration induced by our opponents and enemies.

The diversity of character and multiplicity of aim that characterize us today is not therefore to be construed as a sign of strength, due to the overflow of the stream of Jewish consciousness of its banks, cutting new channels in many directions. It is its sluggishness that permits any obstacle, however slight, to divert the waters from the main course, so that they form stagnant pools. Lured by the charm of the world around us, its thoughts and its desires, we have deliberately attempted to level our differences to the extent of imitating and assimilating our environment so that our uniqueness becomes so overcrusted as to be no longer discernible. No, not even our religion is distinguished when we rabbis preach a colorless universalistic liberalism or a Christless Christianity and our hearers take us literally and join the broader or narrower movements within or without the dominant church. It is a real problem, by no means solved, whether a people that wants to maintain its integrity can confine itself to being peculiar only in religion. Our peculiarity emanates not so much from our religion, as many would have it, but our religion springs from our peculiarness as a people. A restriction therefore of differentiation from others to our faith alone may be a weakening of our defenses and may threaten to become a menace to our unity and to our very existence. Because of this contention that we as a religious sect differ from our neighbors and in every other way resemble them, we have become so like them that frequently we ourselves excel in non-Jewishness. We are as thoroughly preoccupied with secular considerations, and as deeply steeped in the surrounding culture (which includes the dominant religious outlook) and civilization as are the rest of the people. And then by way of a sop to our consciences for our deliberate or thoughtless defections from our standards, we flaunt before ourselves and others our "mission." True, we have a mission, but where are its apostles? Mere protestations and assertion do not make an inspired evangelist. We cannot help ask ourselves if missionaries

can flourish in the soil that produces department store and factory owners, corporation lawyers, labor leaders, itinerant professional propagandists and high salaried rabbis? Goethe tells us that the heavenly powers are only to be known through suffering and tears. One looks in vain then among the Jews of America for the stuff out of which saviors of Judaism, to say nothing of mankind, are made. One is here tempted to carry the thought of the sages to its logical conclusion when they inquire whether economic comfort and deep spirituality are ever compatible.

All due, I hear, to the maladjustment or to the too rapid adjustment which the medieval Jew had to make in the modern world. This is only partially true. It is a question if the spiritually-minded Jew or non-Jew ever can adjust himself in a new world where spiritual-mindedness, as he conceives it, is rare, is not the main object of life but only its by-product. Is immersion in the Torah (I use this term in the broadest sense) and in the modern world possible at the same time? The fact does remain that the Jew is not concerned with the cultivation of his soul as he used to be. Jewish studies for their own sake are not indulged in, as they might be, nor can they be until we have a distinct Jewish life. The few Russian emigrés in Berlin, ill-conditioned as they are, and poor as Germany is, have accomplished more of solid Jewish spiritual achievement, at least as is evidenced by the literature produced, than have we in half a century of ease, because they are animated by a sense of Jewish life. As I survey our people, especially our reform Jews, and I speak without bitterness, I am forced to the reluctant conclusion that our uniqueness is but a shadow. The fact that *we* believe that God is one, and others worship him, triune, is not sufficient to mark us as essentially different. We forget that religion is all of life and not synagogue or catechism solely. The light of the Torah illumines very few corners of our life. It is well enough to cry spirit, but spirit vanishes into ether if it has not a substantial residence. To be a Jew by religion, you must be a Jew in every other respect, and that we feel the discrepancy involved in the effort to be a Jew alone by faith, thus making of us simply another religious denomination is patent in the cry that so often

issues from our lips for more religion. Our laymen whenever they accept invitations to prescribe remedies for our ills, tell us, year in and year out, that we need greater spirituality—chiefly among the rabbis. Yet they do not see that spirituality, or the Jewish soul, is the natural expression of the healthy Jewish body. You cannot produce Jewish spirituality in a *milieu* that is non-Jewish from every point of view, nor can you produce a religious reaction from non-religious elements. It seems to me to smack of effrontery when we are told by latter day lay prophets that our ministers lack the spiritual factor. The only spirituality we have in America is among the rabbis and the few laymen because *they* have a real Jewish background. Our lay leaders have money, power, position, influence, but precious few of them possess the Jewish fervor that springs forth from Jewish knowledge and familiarity with Jewish tradition. There was always, up to yesterday, a deeply cultured Jewishly conscious laity in Israel, but we of America have it not. A task equal to the training of competent rabbis is the rearing of a Jewishly intelligent pew, which the old education with all its faults and lack of facilities *did* do, for it was felt correctly that the burden of Israel's tradition cannot be carried by rabbis alone, as is done in most of *our* congregations today. Our people want what their neighbors want, predigested entertainment, so that the old ideal of the rabbi as scholar and interpreter of Torah has given way to that of the rabbi as popular lecturer, *raconteur* or organizer of social activities. As a people we have therefore lost much of our power of Jewish creation, and the charge is not unjustified that our synagogue architecture, our music and even our service are symptoms of how distinctly un-Jewish elements have entered our midst.

Some among us are even proud of the distance they have moved from the Jewish past. Hebrew, ancient and new, is *passé*; traditional poetry and ceremonial and hymnology are *ipso facto* out of date. We can be good Jews, we are told, without any mooring to the past. Our religion is stripped of all specific, except the echoes of prophetic idealism and has degenerated into a vapid mystic longing. And this emasculated Judaism passes under the name of reform and is hailed as a new dispensation.

We have gone so far as to formulate a new brand of Judaism, which we call American. This qualification of our religion geographically is something new in the history of our people. The Jew is no longer content to dwell alone or to have a distinctive religion, but he clothes it in phraseology that confuses his own understanding. Why after all should a universal religion, I am tempted to say church, divide itself into groups of divers citizenries, even if the geographical appellation expresses a fine political or other ideal? We can learn well from the church of Rome the lesson that it teaches that it knows only Catholics and not Frenchmen or Germans. When the Jew is best Jew then he gives best to his land and not *vice versa*. I, too, am anxious that a fine Jewish culture should flourish here in America, as there did in Spain or Babylon, but I am therefore also anxious that the Torah remain central in our life. I am afraid that in stressing the adjective we forget the noun. I imagine the devotees of Baal in biblical times and the later Sadducees felt that they were modern and real patriots, much as do some among us, while the Jahweh worshipers and the Pharisees were looked upon as old-fashioned and reactionary. Yet the innovations and innovators disappeared from Israel because they did not express the soul of the people, breaking away too suddenly or too sharply from tradition. Growth comes only from within and expresses the essence, as Spinoza says, of the whole being. Reform Judaism can therefore not attempt to develop one member at the expense of the whole organism. It cannot nurture an American Judaism at the expense of separating us from other Jews, nor can it afford to create a national Judaism here, which is a real danger. If there be a connection between religion and geography, surely the Jew is out of place anywhere except in his original desert home, and if there be not, why seek to make national varieties of Judaism, which may make for dissension in our ranks. The American traveler in Europe is impressed by the fact that there is little in common and almost no bond of sympathy between him and the average Jew of Europe. It is a far cry from the brotherhood and unity that Benjamin of Tudela found some hundred years ago to what passes for it today, and yet we claim that we are a

universal community! The Jew can only be what his nature tells him to be, and not what a few *Hofjuden*, lay and rabbinic, want to make of him.

We cannot cut Jews according to the American, German or Turkish pattern; somehow or other the Jew cuts his cloth to suit himself; and, in the end, you will find a marked similarity in spiritual productivity, even though oceans and mountains separate his constituent communities. In other words, we have taken the two ways of Jewish expression, the universalistic and particularistic, have kept the former somewhere in our religious profession and have altered or exchanged the latter for something which it never was or intended to be. Reform Judaism has felt this too, for it has cried for more conservatism, has tried to retrace some of its steps, but it fails to see the initial contradiction involved. You cannot split up Jewish personality into Jewish and new Jewish compartments. All must be Jewish. Nor does this necessarily imply Jewish nationalism. I believe and hope the genius of the Jew can function under present conditions, even as it did in the past, provided that the will to live Jewishly entirely is ever present. No other people, it is true, can flourish in this manner, but again we do so because of our uniqueness. Above all we must not forget the idea expressed so happily by the late Dr. Schechter of Catholic Israel, of unity transcending all diversity and multiplicity—one God, one people, one synagogue. The concept of a geographical Judaism and Jew seems to me to make not only for narrowness but even for intolerance. Already we see signs of the latter in the diatribes that are hurled officially and unofficially in the name of Reform Judaism against the Yiddish speaking element in our population, for the most part by men who know neither the soul nor the literature of these people. How can we presume to read in or out of Judaism, or out of America, anyone who does not speak English? Is our liberalism to be so illiberal that we cannot include the foreign Jew in our ranks? With equal right could the ultra-Hebraic nationalists put outside the pale of Jewry, rabbis and congregations because forsooth they cannot talk Hebrew which after all has some claim to be called the language of the Jew. How can we reproach the nationalists in

our own ranks for their predilection for Zion when we make Judaism contingent upon patriotism? If you believe in nationality you must at least permit a choice of nation. The mere accident of temporary location is no necessary determinant of what nation I may want to identify myself with, for the Lord has given the earth to all the children of men, not to any particular group. You can no more have American Judaism than you can have Serbian Catholicism or Venezuelan Protestantism, and why not a New York or an Illinois Judaism? Now that all sorts of movements universal or, rather, world-wide in character arise from a community of interests, trusts of capital, organizations of labor, international finance, a world-court, a league of nations, socialism and science, it bodes ill to a religion to align itself nationally. And even if these great world embracing efforts, break down on an occasion such as was the last war, it is no guarantee that such a dissolution and cleavage along national lines is inherent and will or must occur again and again. Even though religion has failed in its elementary purpose of making the generality of men think universally, it may yet succeed. I am sure all of us here as protagonists of the spiritual feel a closer kinship to Eucken or to Montefiore than to the patriot next door. In the domain of the spirit there are no boundaries, and reform Judaism cannot be untrue to the spirit of our whole religion by adjectiving itself, by adopting geographic or linguistic nomenclature. The reform Jew, it seems to me, in the exuberance of his newly acquired national rights has forgotten the lesson that the Jew must dwell alone and can never be reckoned among the nations even by identification with them. The whole instinct of our religion has been toward making the Jew distinctive in every aspect of life. The Sabbath, the dietary laws, the Abrahamic covenant, all have this purpose. Reform Judaism felt this too, but it thought it could narrow the distinctiveness down to the Jew's religion, as if religion did not cover the whole of life, eating and drinking and so on. It thought it could make the Jew Jewish in one department while in all other ways he could be like his non-Jewish neighbor. This is our pathetic fallacy. The Jew can only be modern if his modernity springs from himself. Reform Judaism, great

as has been its contribution, for it has made it possible for the Jew to live in the modern world, has not permitted the Jew to make his own world, so to speak. That he can do this anywhere and at any time I feel sure, for therein lies his uniqueness. Even as Beethoven and Shakespeare, the individual geniuses, cannot be judged by ordinary standards, but establish their own criteria, so the Jew cannot be weighed in the scales of the other nations. We make a serious mistake if we think we can preserve the Jew by mere enunciation of a platform that makes for less friction for us in the world. You cannot save the Jew by any program that does not issue out of his sense of group solidarity, and if we are a religious community, we are more than a mere aggregate of like-minded religious persons. We have a group soul, which expresses itself in various ways, best in religion. But the soul we have, and the soul owns a body!

This again does not necessarily imply nationalism. That we can be thus and still not be a nation is another mark of our uniqueness. We are beyond all nations, however these may be conceived, a step ahead of them. It was therefore that Jehudah Halevi could say that "Israel is the heart of the nations." To be this requires that we be more than a mere religious sect.

The Jew is the dynamo that supplies spiritual energy to all. Let others chase after worldly vanities; the Jew may not and must not. All of us find our kinship in the fact that we are pre-empted in the service of God. We are therefore different from all other people in that we form a spiritual group, but a group we must remain. Whether we shall better perform our task by a return to Palestine than by staying here or elsewhere, I can not say, and care not. What we must have is solidarity and common aim. And this is a tremendous responsibility in the modern world. To study and live and to proclaim the Torah in an environment that reeks everywhere with material achievement is a challenge to the most doughty soul. When thoughtful Christians view with alarm the tendency which would make the church the handmaid of business and the catspaw of selfish statecraft, we must take care that Judaism keep its soul untarnished. Materialism is rampant, more so possibly in this country than elsewhere. We are fat with wealth, and religion has a hard time penetrating the

folds of worldly obesity which we carry. When, for example, five-sixths of all the automobiles in the world, the mark of ease among us, are owned by one-tenth of the inhabitants of our own country, or when a brutal prize fight involves more money that is spent in a whole state on religion, education or philanthropy, it is rather startling evidence of the necessary neglect of the spirit, in the domain of which we can point to few positive or equally striking achievements. We Jews cannot permit a taint which rots the world to cling to us like so much fine dust. Many of our religious efforts assume material aspects. We collect money, we multiply organization, we make a business of religion, talk of buying and selling it, and the rabbi must become a merchant or a religious efficiency expert. And how many substitutes pass in the name of Judaism! Religious leaders, like Moses, refuse to be contaminated by the world. And as great individual religionists are unique and solitary, even so must be the people that aspires to religious leadership in the world, remaining one and separate, although it be scattered and, like its own clan, Levi, have no share in the inheritance of the tribes. The Jew must know and feel this keenly, must be aware of what his Judaism is and is not, and must be ready to recognize immediately that so much today that passes for Judaism is spurious metal instead of real gold. And while a great many efforts reveal a latent spirituality and are expressive of the common kinship of Israel, they are not the essence nor the entirety of our religion. We of today need remember that charity is not Judaism, that social service is not Judaism, nor is an adumbrated cosmopolitanism, nor a nationalism with or without a pale universalism. Judaism has a definite essence, a philosophy of thought and conduct all its own, which it is ours to learn and to preach. The greatest sin after all is ignorance of what constitutes our teaching, which leads us to accept any adulteration as pure Judaism, provided rabbi and layman are emphatic enough in proclaiming their views. To preach a Judaism pure and unvarnished, to prepare a new generation of real Jews is a task of far greater import than building temples or acting as ambassadors to Gentiles. Our duty of continuing the cementing of Israel into one spiritual fellowship dedicated to the Law is plain. Reform Judaism, too, let us not forget, must take

cognizance of the law element in our religion, lest it degenerate into a vague sentimentalism or a mere stimulation of the mystic sense.

Such a religion of Torah has its part to play, even today. When all cultural values and attainments have been blown away like the house in the child's tale, some one must stress the worth of the inner life. Let it be the Jew, who by virtue of his history, his position and his desire can do so to best advantage for all concerned, even better than, for example, the Quakers, which sect is now undergoing a remarkable rejuvenation of powers. We Jews can still remain unique by emphasizing what our religion is, what Jewish cultural values are—and this is where we can make our contribution to the world and to America.

First, in a world where fraternity is threatened with extinction, where in vain we look for an exemplary nation, race, creed, we can warn against the futility of pseudo-patriotism and narrow nationalism. We can show that patriotism means not only loyalty to country, but through country, service to mankind, that nationalism is not exploitation of majorities by minorities or *vice versa*, but opportunity for free expression of individual and group personality. We can combat the shallow philosophies of race and creed, which divide the world into saved and damned, elect and rejected, superiors and inferiors, Nordics and Mediterraneans, and utter our sublimest truth that God created, not men and men, but mankind.

Second, in the materialistic miasma in which the idealist must stifle, we can reassert that the air can only be purified through the introduction of the pure oxygen of the ethical imperative, so alarmingly absent. This is the great contribution of Jewish thought and no modern achievement anywhere supersedes or supplants it. Our science is a-moral, our commerce anti-moral, our state unethical. Only religion knows goodness, and it remains for the Jew to publish these tidings since others will not.

Third, the Jews as a spiritual community must teach that democracy is as wide as mankind, that it cannot be based on any selfish interest, the equal right of all men in an acquisitive society to accumulate wealth, but that in the broad pastures of the spirit,

duty and likeness to God make men alike, that freedom and justice are not economic or industrial catchwords, but are real, and real only when they find lodgment and expression in the soul of man. As an exemplary people we can demonstrate that the only community of interest upon which human society can be founded is not property but spiritual kinship. The City of God on earth is composed not of Americans or Jews or of American Jews but of the souls of all God's creatures in the flesh.

And lastly, as a priest-people we can show that life has real value and real values, that the ideal alone has substance, that the material is ephemeral, that the spirit must permeate all of life and sanctify all its operations, high and low. Therein we can find our consciousness, our unity and our uniqueness. The heathen prophet of our tale prayed that his end be like Israel's, that he die the death of the righteous. So must we live that our latter days find us thus godly.

And if the frequently heard objection be here interposed that by our remaining a singular people we contradict our universalistic aim, let me remind you that a world-embracing brotherhood in the flesh and soul, a catholic church, need not entail a uniformity wherein we lose our identity. Other groups are bent on the same end as are we, and even as in the family there is unity amidst great variety of distinct personalities and all work toward a common goal, so in the family of peoples and faiths, individuals can remain as they are, yet work to the common end of fraternity, happiness and fellowship. Our contribution as Jews could not be made if we ceased to be distinct or if we confined our uniqueness to one aspect of our character, the religious or the group. Mankind alone is universal, the Kingdom of God on Earth is recruited from among the choice souls of all peoples and faiths, Jew and non-Jew. Let the Jew, undeterred and undismayed, do his share toward bringing it about. The others will take care of themselves.

All that I have said is intended to find the proper place for the Jew and to obtain an adequate appreciation of his essentiality, which centers in his mission, that has no other object except the stressing and conserving of the spiritual life—for in it lie the

treasures of the world. To carry out our task of guardianship of the real riches, the Jew must remain an intense Jew and continue unique and alone, refusing to be counted among the nations or even to be like them. At various times in our history there have welled forth from the Jewish consciousness great movements that made the necessary syntheses in and for the world—Monotheism, Prophetism, Messianism, Legalism, the daughter-religions, Christianity and Islam. That the fires wherein these were forged are not extinct is evidenced by the fact that in modern times every great unitary movement has been inaugurated by a Jew and because he was a Jew—from Spinoza in Philosophy, to Marx in Economics, from Fried in International Peace, to Lubin in Bread Distribution. Ours to keep this passion aglow, so that when a further synthesis is to be made it will be again the Jew that makes it.

We still have vigor, fervor and passion, and need neither revolution nor revivalism. We must move slowly and surely along traditional lines, recover and maintain our high outlook upon life, cherish the steadfast vision of its beauty, its value and its possibility for goodness. We must steep ourselves in Jewish learning and feeling, literature and religion. There is no short cut except to anarchy and dissolution, but by patient toil we may conserve and develop what has been gained in this past, and cause it to flower to a fuller, a finer and a lovelier bloom. God will it so. Amen.

C

HELPLESSNESS AND POWER—CONFERENCE
SERMON

NATHAN STERN

"Lo, I am come to thee; have I now any power to speak anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak."
—Numbers xxii, 38.

The simplicity, the directness and the definiteness of this verse of the Scriptures, found in the traditional lesson for this Sabbath, are arresting. There is no shadow of doubt in the mind of the speaker. No hesitation, no wavering of thought, no compromise with conflicting vision, no yielding to blandishment or self-glorification and no consideration of the wide range of self-interest are exhibited in Balaam's challenge. The reply implies that the individual is not always a free agent but is helpless in the grip of an idea that has taken possession of his soul so that the individual is but the mouthpiece, the interpreter and the exponent of the idea which possesses him. Thus every great thinker and every revolutionary moralist, however much the secret of his activity may be otherwise grasped or eluded, may be approached and studied. So, no doubt, every martyr for an ideal envisaged his reactions when he rode the tumult which broke about him and when he faced death, despising the importunate desires, policies and conventions of his opponents or of his age. Helplessness and power are the living qualities of the message their lives leave through the different aspects of the decisions and of the judgments they have made.

It is this thought of helplessness and power which the biblical verse, it seems to me, seeks to register. The story of its

context is familiar to you all. Balak was troubled by the presence of Israel whose onward march and repeated victory over assailing forces were becoming more and more threatening. Balak, therefore, invited Balaam, whose reputation as a sorcerer was high, to help him remove Israel by cursing and by magical arts. But Balaam came to realize that neither magic nor incantation will avail in the situation **כִּי לֹא נָחַשׁ בִּיעָקֵב וְאֵין קֶסֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל** and, in the contemplation of God's presence, Balaam acknowledges his helplessness and his power to speak only as God would have him speak. "Lo, I am come to thee; have I now any power to speak anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak." This consciousness of God's presence is the constraining force of his message. In the grip of the God-idea he is helpless; and the power to speak and to affect anything at all derives from Him who is the greatest of all realities.

We see this helplessness and power manifested in Israel's prophets. Helplessness and power are the keynote of the prophetic vocation as the prophet himself saw it. Of his own volition and in response to his own reasoning, he cannot utter a word. **נֹאמַר ה'** "The Lord speaketh" or **כֹּה אָמַר ה'** "Thus saith God" announce or close his preachment. The prophet—and according to Jewish legend Balaam, though not of Israel, is accredited with the power of prophecy—invariably feels himself powerless, propelled in his utterance by a force not himself. He stands in the midst of his people and of their tradition and what concerns him most are not their rulers but the ideal nature and the ideal continuance of the people beyond the moment. And all his faculties are attuned to the voice of God as he hears it speaking and commanding through experience and events.

No people, like Israel as a whole, has displayed the prophetic reaction to this sense of helplessness and power. Importunities were of no avail to distract Israel from the prophetic submergence to an idea which possessed the people's soul. Because Israel has maintained his isolation, or rather his distinctiveness, **וַיֹּאכֵל אִישׁ עִמּוֹ** men made him bite the dust while they strove with him, now as a murderer seeking his life, now as a bandit to strip Israel of his ewelings—his possession and his treasure—or again as a shepherd under the more benign though equally dangerous

address of church and baptismal-font. Balak-like, the non-Jewish world extended its good offices with the promise of expiatory gifts as the price of conformity and of the renunciation of prophetic obligation. History witnesses that, as Balaam foresaw, "the Lord his God is with him." Generation after generation Israel as a whole, ideal Israel, professing its helplessness and its power, has in return replied: "Must I not take heed to speak what the Lord putteth in my mouth? . . . If Balak would give me his house full of silver and of gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord. What the Lord speaketh, that will I speak."

It is a beautiful faith when a man believes there is a presentation of helplessness and power in human life;—a helplessness and power born of God. It motivates all his opinions, it lends them a certain dignity and majesty, it gives him strength and courage to endure and to carry on in his efforts to meet the conventional, commonplace or exceptional tasks of daily life; it gives him a balance against the hour when impounding odds may be against him and it comforts him in the time of overwhelming contact with the sordid and painful inrush of our material experience. By this sense of helplessness and power through the presence of God and by the compulsive attention to the divine voice, the small man is made steadfast and the great man is made more stable and persevering. Like trees planted by the water-brooks whose leaf faileth never are they in their spiritual resourcefulness—whatever betide and whatever portend.

The external world of facts and the internal world of sensation and of emotion present all too frequently a confusion in thought whose end is moral bankruptcy and intellectual capitulation. The curves of human existence note a progressive conquest of the forces of nature, tremendous economic development, the staggering resources of power and of wealth, the stupendous growth of cities with their teeming and competing population and a closer, very sensitive world-solidarity with a consequent, almost immediate response everywhere, to the successes and the failures, to the weal and the woe of a part. At the same time, there are evident a tremendous and pathetic spirit of lawlessness, a passion for self-aggrandizement to secure material comforts, a merciless

and devastating ruthlessness to achieve privilege and enlargement, and a corresponding and indescribable depth of human agony never before witnessed. Our generation beholds a demoralized world. Politics are askew; international relationships are in a frightful snarl; international trade is wrecked. Hatred, misunderstanding and mistrust abound. Men say: things have gone so far that there can be no outcome; a patchwork,—perhaps! a solution,—never! unless life brings a counteracting joy and a modicum of peace, life is not worth living or possessing. Despair seizes men's hearts and minds; and despair has begotten the conclusion that nothing is worth while, that there is no unifying purpose among men and that spirituality is a term which dreamers use and which human affairs hardly elicit.

These judgments are no doubt honest and are often arrived at after conscientious study. The mistake with them, I think, is that they are only partial truths. There is suffering in the world, there is an immense amount of inequalities among men that could be relieved, there is, too, the presentment of all kinds of difficulties which existence on this earth of kaleidoscopic change discloses and which taxes human understanding to the uttermost. But as Balaam suggested, there is no magic course by which the undesirable in life may be removed, there are no shibboleths which will resolve lamented conditions and there is no occult process by which evil may be dissipated. The magic of a few platitudes and of shallow reasoning will not work. The solvent is through understanding and deep convictions which obtain from a long process of education which, however, does not satisfy as it is merely materialistic and humanistic but does satisfy as it is a raging and purifying fire or a shattering and creative impulse coming from God.

Whenever we are face to face with truth and want to prophecy, the incantations of prejudice are without foundation, the witchcraft of artificiality are without productiveness and even the conjuration of manners are without avail. The whole business of artificiality and of prejudice must be scrapped as worthless freight; and auditory defectiveness and intellectual miopia must be redeemed by placing ourselves under the mandate of God; by subjecting ourselves to the elementary truths of honesty, of decency,

fairness and of elemental right which take possession of the soul and are dynamic when half-truths are shed. Dig but a little further, urges the prophetic voice; bore but a little deeper and there will gush forth the oil which will illumine life, which will lubricate human affairs, and which, by easing the friction, will make them run more smoothly. If oil be absent, continues this same prophetic voice, then, instead of oil, shall spring forth life-giving streams of knowledge and of understanding, genuine "wells of salvation." For, the overwhelming sense of helplessness and power, coming from God's presence in the universe, gives an absoluteness and a unity to life which, instead of causing despair, injects an optimistic outlook upon the world notwithstanding its many incongruous conflicts, creates an attitude of hope nowhere so expectant and gives an ability of enlargement, in the main, restful and peaceful despite the turmoil and the grind and the hardship and the pain which travelers through this vale of tears seem inevitably to share. If at the "quivering center of all ambition" there is the helplessness and the power through God, there is victory and strength and courage enough. Balak-fears will always be without foundation. Who dare deny that, in what Israel affirms when it speaks of the *יִסּוּרֵינִי שֶׁל אֱהָבָה* "the chastisement of love" with which God afflicts humankind, there may be a greater love than the human mind may ever know? Pain need not be denied nor repudiated; for, such denial and repudiation are mere sentimentality that gets nowhere. If once we believe and have faith in an absoluteness and a unity pervading all life, struggle and failure, pain and sorrow will be rungs of the ladder by which man, in his upward course from the brute-stage, arrives at a fuller appreciation of the purposefulness of sorrow and difficulty. Are not the beauties of the earth, the heights of the Alps and the majesties of the Rockies due to terrestrial travail and upheaval? All birth is with pain. The antagonisms we meet may be the very props which uphold us. Men have harnessed the air and ride it with wings of steel, knowing that the atmosphere impedes and knowing also that, without the atmosphere, they could not rise at all. Thus, helplessness and power, born of God and born through attention to the divine voice, must bless even as Balaam did; for, that sense of

compelling helplessness and power makes men find themselves, gives an importance to the individual and demands, nay commands a spirit of co-operation which make for unity, sanity and salvation in human speech, in human judgments and in human affairs. The prophetic voice has no other reply: "Lo, I am come to thee; have I now any power to say anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak."

An impediment to the proper expression of this helplessness and power in human life and to its beautiful and symmetrical outgrowth and flowering through conduct has been a truncated vision on the part of those who very zealously have sought to hear what God speaks. They have fashioned creeds as a body into which they would house the soul of their helplessness and power. To understand their error, let us ask: what do we mean by the word religion? James defines religion to be a "man's reaction to life," *any* man's reaction to life, *every* man's reaction to life! a definition that may satisfy the psychologist as he sits in his study and calmly analyzes the religious experience of the human race. That definition, however, will not serve as we come into close grips with human affairs and into close grips with the warm, passionate craving of the human soul. Religion *is* a reaction to life, but it is a man's passionate reaction to the mystery of existence, to a sense of human finiteness and human limitation, to a desire to answer the mystery of existence and clearly to evolve for himself, through the experience of time, the best method of dealing, one man with all others, so that man be in accord with the absoluteness and the unity which is behind everything and at the heart of everything. At least, so I understand an ethical monotheism. What is wrong with a creed is that it disturbs the unity that is behind everything, at the heart of everything and that a creed separates men; whereas religion, judged by what the origin of the word implies, binds and unites men.

The fine ethical and growingly spiritual character of Judaism with its power of expansion springs largely, I feel, from the absence of formulated creed. There never has been a generally official acceptance of a credal formula in Jewry, as Dr. Kohler in his theology pointed out with due acknowledgment, however, of the influence of the thirteen articles of Maimonides upon a large

part of the Synagog. And "every attempt to formulate the doctrines of articles of faith—as Dr. Kohler states—was made in order to guard the Jewish faith from the intrusion of foreign beliefs, never to impose disputed beliefs upon the Jewish community." You know of the attempts made to harness us with a creed and you are aware of the bitter opposition which such attempts have met. The absence of a generally and officially accepted creed may be a source of weakness but it is the source of strength to our faith as it has been handed down to us through the ages, permitting the free and untrammelled spirit of our helplessness and power to adjust itself to changing conditions and to every new thought as it has been discovered. The primal requisite of a genuine, vital, true religion is that the mind and the energies of man shall be unshackled in his endeavor to attain new reaches of truth and of power. Judaism has its impelling doctrines but no constricting creeds. These impelling doctrines make for enforced expansion of our helplessness and power.

If God is at the quivering centre of all existence, a spiritual law must pervade the universe and must be imminent in all things. The spiritual law is the unifying element of all phenomena. We may impede the right expression of this spiritual law and we may interfere with the proper direction of its flow even as we may prevent the right and proper execution of the moral law, legislated through the conscience of men and for healthy conduct and relationship between individuals and peoples. But we cannot defeat the eternal significance and the eternal purpose of this spiritual law. In the course of time, this spiritual law rights itself, however blind and antagonistic human motives and human striving are.

Furthermore, there is the implication of the purposefulness, the meaning and the value of life itself. If we believe there is an absoluteness and a unity behind everything and at the heart of everything, we must believe that there is a purposefulness, a meaning and a value to life. When we cease so to believe, we take out of life the highest aspiration, the highest joy and the fullest purity. The glory of life has parted. Petty thoughts and petty emotions, selfish economies and selfish motives then thrive. On the other hand, when we consider ourselves, as the rabbis dignify man,

partners with God in His plan and in His work of creation, we put into life a glory and a zest otherwise unattained and unattainable. Human life becomes radiant with a mysterious charm, with a new impulse and with a new vigor that set the sweetest and most effective incentives for the most wholesome relations between individuals and between nations. As soon as we believe that God exists, that we can and should do only what He dictates and that there is a world of interpenetrating material and spiritual phenomena, we must believe that there is nothing valueless in life; we must believe that human life has purpose, meaning and value. Its full purpose, meaning and value may never be entirely clear to us because our finiteness may prevent so much clarity. But, in their absoluteness, the purposefulness, meaning and value are known to God whose greater knowledge we may approach. With this sense of the purposefulness, meaning and value of life, there is born in upon us a tremendous sense of responsibility for our fellowmen, for the least as well as for the greatest; and there eventuates a challenge to the philosophies and the motives which sway individuals and nations.

Self-interest will be welcomed. Self-interest is the basis of a large share of human happiness, is a spring of much enlightenment and a condition of progress. With keen understanding of human nature and with an appreciation of the world's work to be done, Hillel very pertinently asked *אם איני לי מי לי* "if I am not for myself, who will be for me" and forthwith adds *ואם אני לעצמי מה אני* "if I am for myself alone, what after all am I!" In the contemplation of the religious life and in its application to human affairs, we are often compelled to make fine distinctions with reference to self-interest. In the main, however, the vision of God and the belief in life's purposefulness make for two divisions. On the one hand is an unqualified, tyrannical and oppressive egoism, which, with the slogan—get out of life all you possibly can and hold out for more—leads to social anarchy. On the other hand is a justifiable, righteous egoism which, while seeking to ascertain what God speaks and eager for the coalition of the human will with the divine will, makes for the limitation of self-aggrandizement and for greater social harmony and saner social relationship. Self-

interest needs not suppression and repudiation but education, control and direction. What is wrong with the world is that we have given ear to God's word, that we have incorporated it into our creeds and professions and that we have done everything with it but obey it.

As egoism, so present day utilitarianism will come in for its share of scrutiny. By this utilitarianism, I mean the judging and the determining of action on a basis of the practical and of the expedient; the look-out for returns; a kind of profit-sharing philosophy of life whose slogan, in its turn, is—give only as much as you must. And what is this utilitarianism after all but at bottom nothing more than an enlarged socialized egoism? Differing from egoism in the personal, exclusive sense, this utilitarianism, starting with a sense of the value of mutual benefits, capitalizes it in a kind of commercializing of social experience and even morality. In the end all the problems of human life are regarded from the business standpoint. The business sense, however, is competitive or it is competitive *and* co-operative. To the degree that it is co-operative, there is and there will be social sanity, social health and social progress. But experience has shown that the business sense, as it works itself out, is responsible for the very fact that our civilization is rent to its foundations and that men despair in their search for a solution of the social and international *impasse* with which our generation is confronted. Call in ethics and idealism, it is urged, call in ethics and idealism and the practical and the expedient, as handled by a clearer business sense of what is due and of what should be done, will resolve the world's ills. The difficulty with this suggestion lies in human nature itself. We are creatures of conflicting natural impulses, each at every moment struggling for mastery; and our judgment of what is ethical and ideal will be colored by our prejudices and predilections. Moreover, there may come a point when the practical and the expedient must be thrown to the winds. Israel's past history with its grievous sacrifices is the living witness and the living challenge that the quivering centre of ambitious life is best reached as we apperceive that there is a purposefulness and a meaning to human life and only as we make our unconscious and concealed ideals identical

with and coincide with the absolute ideal we call God. Not profit-sharing, but a sharing of the prophetic spirit is Israel's challenge to expediency and practicality.

We Jews, as a result of our helplessness and power through the God-idea, have always considered ourselves a peculiar people with a special agency or divine election. Israel, we profess, is the chosen of God, the apple of His eye, His servant to the nations. Most bitterly has this assumption been opposed. Every generation has produced its "Balaks and Belocs," to use Dr. Enelow's happy collocation, who have wanted Israel cursed and removed for its constancy and who, by their opposition, convict themselves of only partial knowledge of Israel's aims, hopes and prayers, or convict themselves of an obfuscated vision, or of a will so prejudiced that it finds and sees only what it seeks. Every nation which sets itself a given task as a goal of its ambitions and energies feels itself called, chosen or charged with a mission. Every people, with a profound appreciation of its position amid the family of nations and with a healthy conviction that it may vitally and beneficently contribute to fill the world's need or needs, has this sense of election. Otherwise patriotism has no rational content, serves no high purpose and is bereft of all spiritual significance. In the consciousness of all the nations of Europe and the Americas, and in their verbal pronouncements of a consciousness of national purpose, there exists the dominant assertion of a divine task to be performed by them as the special agent of Providence. The Founders of our glorious Republic were surely so motivated as they brought into being a "free and more perfect form of government." True, this overpowering sense of a people's divine agency or election may be a double edged sword. It may run riot in its arrogance and become ruthless in its policies so that the world, to protect itself, is called upon to rise in protest. But Israel, in its plea of special agency and divine election, in its helplessness and power, limits this agency to a knowledge of God and to a transmutation of God's law into human conduct. Any arrogance which may attach to Israel's sense of being chosen of the Lord is obviated by our willingness to share with all others the privileges of our assumption. All arrogance is further obviated by Israel's recognition that our election

is not an election for physical expansion, nor for material enrichment but is a commission for service, God-sent though at the same time self-imposed; a commission of sacrifice and of self-immolation, if necessary; a commission requiring the highest degree of self-discipline, character, virtue and heroism on the part of the individual as well as of the people; a commission the like of which, for selflessness, for its reflex of pain, sorrow and agony with which constancy has rewarded the agent, and for its far-reaching possibilities of well-being for all mankind, no other people has registered. Israel, helpless and powerful in the grip of its Godwardness, cannot do otherwise than plead a special election. To expect anything else, to incite recrimination because of this special pleading and to inveigh against a people with this prophetic ideal of dedication is to argue ignorance of national psychology and to forget Balaam's pregnant warning, *וַאִין קַסָּם בִּישְׂרָאֵל* there is no magic, no unnatural presentation in our claim. What is a common impulse of all self-conscious groups, Israel derives from God Himself, from Israel's helplessness and power that God speaks and that His word is telling in this world of hard, conflicting international contentions.

This appointment and election entails a special obligation on the part of all Israel. *Noblesse oblige*. Not all Jews, it must be confessed, have equally caught the implications of the prophetic helplessness and power or have carried these implications into practice. Nor do all Jews equally today. All the more does this sense of helplessness and power charge the Rabbi with a specific challenge *to* and *for* the Rabbi himself as he seriously treads the path of his professional duties. I do not in any way wish to leave the impression of preaching at men who have consecrated themselves to the noble calling of the Jewish Ministry and who are acquitting themselves with honor and usefulness in their respective communities. With no desire to appear over-righteous, I want to consult with you for a moment concerning the ideal of the rabbinic office as I read into our theme and into our text a direct challenge to us who are the accredited spiritual guides and teachers of our people. Being human, we are subject, as are the laymen, to a similar distortion of judgment with its inrush of harmful emo-

tions. Gentlemen, what then? Only a little patience! There is always a kernel of spiritual truth everywhere; and, who can tell what beauteous fruitage may be brought forth by our faithful stewardship? Being human, we may yield to satisfaction with lower accomplishment; we may be tempted by the flatteringly spurious promises-to-honor held out by cheap and cheapening notoriety or by discussing in our pulpits anything and everything save that for which the seal of our office calls. Constantly we are told that ours is not a religious age, that "timely topics" are fetching of flattering impressions and that the latest social, literary, theatrical, political or international sensation will get us larger and more attentive audiences. Of what avail are size and numbers if the opportunity of religious awakening be lost? There is time and place for a discussion, in the Jewish pulpit, of everything that has human and immediate interest; but, everything considered for exposition in the Jewish pulpit should reflect Jewish sanctions and should have the stamp of Jewish values. Whether we know it or not, our people will listen. Many of them are waiting, yes, yearning for an expression of these Jewish sanctions and of these Jewish values. There is an unharvested deep of spiritual craving in the hearts of those who fill the pews and a stirring consciousness that "man doth not live by bread alone but by all that cometh out of the mouth of the Lord." That craving we must seek to satisfy or, where it is absent, we must seek to inspire—if we be true priests and faithful ministers. For us, as rabbis, there is no magic road to effectiveness; there is only a God-given earnestness, sincerity and joy of service that will and must bless. God alone is our helplessness and power. Whatever be demanded of us, we have the ready test and reply: Lo, I am come to thee; have I now any power to say anything? The word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.

D

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS.

LOUIS BERNSTEIN

JULIAN H. MILLER

Time and location are of no significance in a resume of the life of Louis Bernstein. "To do good was his religion and the whole world was his country." He sensed the divine in all the creeds and explained them with Jewish broadmindedness. He so dearly prized the glorious possibilities in America that he wanted all peoples to enjoy the same invaluable privileges. His life can best be characterized by the theme of an oration he once gave that not only won him the prize for oratory and a loving cup for his impassioned appeal for the oppressed, but it made thousands of people he never met, his undying friends and well wishers. That theme was "Down With The Mob and Up With Civilization." With such an ideal constantly before him, we can well understand why he never had to complain of empty pews. Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, the aristocrat and the humble worker alike, went to derive inspiration from the service he conducted and the sermon he voiced.

To detail the honorary and honorable offices he held in civic and state affairs would be to concentrate on but faces of his many sided activities. He was in demand wherever the right was to be championed.

His humility and loyalty were proverbial amongst his classmates and later became the boast of his congregants.

Measuring his life by action and not by years Louis Bernstein's career was replete. His suffering and untimely end were the lament of all who knew him. In his leaving the fold of his

people, Jewry has sustained the loss of one who not only urged others to, but he himself always acted justly and practiced mercy and the Conference has had to give up one devoted and faithful to the cause.

Be it Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in earnest appreciation of his character and his work, send a message of sympathy to his devoted wife and child and to the congregation in Baltimore that so keenly feels the loss of his leadership.

EMIL G. HIRSCH

KAUFMANN KOHLER

When the soul of the great law-giver Moses had left its earthly tabernacle and he lay sheltered under the wings of the divine majesty, we are told in the Talmud, the celestial choir sang his praise, saying: He hath executed the righteousness of the Lord and His ordinances unto Israel. And God in His holiness spoke: Who will now rise up for Me against the evil-doers? Who will stand up for Me against the workers of iniquity? and throughout the length and breadth of Israel's camp a heavenly voice was heard echoing forth the words: Moses the great teacher in Israel is dead!

In Emil Gustave Hirsch, American Jewry has lost a personality beyond compare in power and influence, a master of the word and pen without equal in pulpit and platform, who knew no fear in exposing the faults and errors of his generation, and a champion of justice and freedom, battling for human dignity and equality, for integrity and manhood, whose place in the community will not soon be filled. Recognized alike by Jew and Gentile as a leader of thought in this advanced age of ours, and likewise as a man of principle unyielding in his concept of truth and of right; and voicing with amazing force his lofty ideals of life, he towered as a giant above the rest of men. It is, indeed, a difficult task to pass an unbiased opinion of his lifework at this early date. We can only acknowledge with gratitude to God that He "anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows," pouring so much grace upon his lips and girding his loins with vigor and courage to prompt him to lead many to righteousness and imbue them with love for our ancient heritage, and by the brilliancy of his mind and the largeness of his vision

to impress the outside world with the grandeur and sublimity of Israel's truth.

From the very cradle he was singled out for great achievement. He was spared the hardships and privations, the anxieties and troubles that fell to the lot of most of the men who made the teaching and preaching of the Torah the object of their life; nor had he to undergo the outer and inner struggles that embittered the life of the Reform pioneers, and frequently made them martyrs of their conviction. When young Emil G. Hirsch entered the field, the exasperating battle for modern thought had been turned into triumphant victory, and the road to greater conquest had been fairly smoothed out for him, to permit him to look forth with perfect confidence and hope upon the future.

To begin with his childhood, there was his mother, Louise Nickolls Hirsch, a woman of great refinement and culture, of charm and tenderness of heart, who nurtured the growing lad with the milk of human kindness and instilled into his soul those noble traits and lovely qualities which made him in later life the favorite as well as the helpful friend of society. His father, Dr. Samuel Hirsch, Rabbi of the Duchy of Luxembourg, and one of the leading Reform pioneers, already famous as the author of *The Religious Philosophy of the Jews* which appeared in 1842, was a profound thinker and a strict disciplinarian, guided mainly by the dictates of reason. He opened for the wide-awake boy the path of knowledge, stimulating him with an unquenchable desire for truth. He taught him not merely the rudiments of Hebrew literature, introducing him into the treasures of the Torah and the Talmud, but also familiarized him with the philosophical system of Hegel, the sharp dialectician who construed the whole history of life as a continuous process of thought culminating in God as the Absolute. Only in contrast to the Hegelian system which centred in the Christian Trinity, he pointed to humanity as the centre which starts in Hebrew Scripture with the toil of civilization to end in Israel's Messianic goal. Thus the Torah, which is not fixed *Law*, but fluid and flexible *Doctrine*, presented to him the most sublime form in which the God of history is served by man. Samuel Hirsch has rightly been called the Philo of modern times. As the Alexandrian thinker en-

deavored to harmonize Mosaism with the Platonic and Stoic philosophy by way of allegorizing the Scripture, so did Samuel Hirsch in his *Religionsphilosophie* and later on in his *Catechism* assign to the Pentateuch legends the character of allegories, and to the Mosaic rites such as circumcision, that of symbols expressive of religious truth. On the one hand, we find him among the foremost radicals at the Rabbinical Conferences of 1842-5, whether in regard to the transfer of the historic Sabbath to the civic day of rest, to intermarriage of Jew and Gentile, and, on the other hand, he sided with the Conservative Rabbis for whom the Abrahamic covenant constitutes the indispensable condition of adherence to Judaism. Aside, then, from the allegoristic and symbolistic interpretation of the Torah, which could not be maintained in view of the critical-historical research of modern times, Emil Hirsch adhered in the main to his father's rationalistic system to the very last.

A third factor which aided in the moulding of the young life of Emil G. Hirsch was the city of Luxembourg in which he was born on May 22, 1852. Situated on the border of Germany, Holland and French-speaking Belgium, his native city trained his tongue and ear to the use of three languages, which gave him in his early youth the advantage of mastering with ease many other languages, and so developed in him a phenomenal linguistic talent which later on unlocked for him without any effort the literary treasures of many nations, ancient and new.

When in 1866 his father accepted the call to Philadelphia as successor to David Einhorn, America opened a new world for Emil Hirsch to enlarge his mental horizon in every direction, and, while he completed his secular education at first at the Episcopal Academy and then at the University of Pennsylvania, whence he graduated in 1872, he imbibed Jewish learning in the atmosphere of Philadelphia Jewry. The Rabbinical Conference in 1869, which held its sessions in his parental home under his father's presidency, could not fail to impress him and arouse his interest in progressive American Judaism. When twenty years of age, young Hirsch went to Berlin to study at the Hochschule, and to sit, together with Felix Adler, Emanuel Schreiber and afterwards with Samuel Sale, at the feet of Abraham Geiger,

the pioneer of systematic Reform Judaism, the eminent Jewish historian who, with his remarkable divinatorial powers, disclosed for his hearers and readers the deep historic forces of Judaism in its various epochs, so as to show it to have undergone a continuous process of growth and development in accordance with the cultural conditions and requirements of the time and environment. Here the fundamental principles of religious progress and reform on the basis of historical-critical research into both the biblical and rabbinical literature were elucidated for him, and this point of view was rather confirmed for him by Israel Levy, the conservative Talmudist, in his fine analyses of the tannaic periods. At the University it was chiefly Herman Steinthal, the originator of Ethnic Psychology, in common with his brother-in-law, Moritz Lazarus, who directed his mind towards a deeper study of Ethics as the essence of religion. The Hochschule at Berlin stands for what, since the days of Zunz and Gans, is termed the Science of Judaism—*Die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*—and, evading the terms of theology or religion in its specific form, does not turn out ordained Rabbis. Accordingly, Emil G. Hirsch came back to America in 1876 with the title of Doctor of Philosophy, like most of the older generation of modern Rabbis. In 1877, he was elected as Rabbi by the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore, Maryland, and, after being there a year, he accepted a call from the Adath Israel Congregation of Louisville, Kentucky, remaining there from 1878 to 1880. During these first years of his ministry, he had ample opportunity to show his metal. In 1878 he married Mathilda Einhorn, a daughter of Dr. David Einhorn, who became a most devoted and self-sacrificing helpmate to him during his whole distinguished career.

If any Rabbi ever found his destiny linked with that of a community which was to grow and expand in power and prominence with him, and in which the young eagle could unfold the wings of his genius to achieve the great task Providence had assigned to him, it was Emil G. Hirsch when he took charge of the Sinai Congregation of Chicago to remain its minister until his death in 1923. Among all the Jewish congregations of America, Sinai Congregation stood out from the very outset as one

striving for progress and independence and for liberalism in thought and in practice. Consisting almost exclusively of German-speaking members, a goodly number of whom were men of advanced views, it first constituted itself under Bernhard Felsenthal's leadership in 1858, as a Reform Verein and, in 1861, it reorganized itself as the Sinai Congregation, adopting the Einhorn ritual. After Dr. Felsenthal's resignation in 1864, Dr. Chronik, a radical of the Feuerbach school was elected, but his abstruse discourses threatened to split the Congregation. When participating in the Philadelphia Conference in 1869, he proposed the transfer of the Sabbath Service to Sunday, against which also Abraham Geiger, who had recommended him to the Congregation, remonstrated in his *Zeitschrift*, declaring that such a step would be tantamount to a recognition of Christianity's ruling power in matters of religion. When, in 1871, the great conflagration of the city of Chicago destroyed Sinai Temple, it fell to my lot as Rabbi to restore unity and harmony in the Congregation, and I especially succeeded in bringing it about by introducing, in 1874, Sunday Services in addition to the regular Sabbath Service, both of which, held provisionally in a hall, were well attended. In 1876, a beautiful new Temple was dedicated by me. Therein the sermon was delivered in German and English alternately. In 1879, I accepted the call of Temple Beth El of New York as successor to Dr. Einhorn, and Sinai Temple remained practically vacant for a year, waiting, so to speak, for Emil G. Hirsch to become its powerful leader. Soon the Temple proved all too small for the growing audiences that listened spell-bound to the fiery eloquence and wondrous versatility of the gifted speaker whose flowing sentences, rich in thought and replete with humor and wit, thrilled, electrified and inspired all, whether Jew or Gentile, who came to hear him. And in 1892 the Temple had to be enlarged and remodelled.

As early as 1885, the Congregation "relieved Dr. Hirsch of preaching on Sabbath morning," which was tantamount to abrogating the historical Sabbath in favor of Sunday. Dr. Hirsch, however, would not give up the Sabbath, as far as his own person was concerned; for he preached either Friday evening or Sabbath in "the little Synagog around the corner," or elsewhere

when opportunity offered, taking his text from the weekly *Parashah* and skilfully using the midrashic interpretation for illustration of his sermon. Nor did he then rest on his laurels won from all sides, but with all the greater zeal until late midnight he would pore over the tomes of Midrash and Talmud and dive into every new work on science and philosophy of which he could get hold, thus keeping abreast of the progressive ideas of the age as with the most recent research in the wide field of knowledge. Aided by a phenomenal memory and an extraordinary mental grasp of things, he absorbed and assimilated what he read with wonderful rapidity, thus being able to expound every new current of thought with striking lucidity and felicity of form for his hearers and readers.

One point, however, must not be overlooked in the whole Reform movement of American Judaism up to Emil Hirsch's time. Both in the West and in the East, it was carried on by the German-speaking element. As the sermons, so were the prayer-books and hymnals for the most part German, and the Jewish press, as far as it stood for progress and reform, generally bore the same character. When the *Jewish Times* of New York had outlived its usefulness as the German organ of reform in the spirit of David Einhorn, the *Zeitgeist* in Milwaukee, edited by Isaac and Adolph Moses and Emil G. Hirsch, appeared in 1880 to serve for three years as its forum, having the outspoken Reform Rabbis as its contributors.

The turning-point came in 1885 when the Pittsburgh Conference of Reform Rabbis under the presidency of Isaac M. Wise was convened by me with the view of winning the rising generation for our cause. The Pittsburgh Conference had, in fact, a two-fold purpose. The platform adopted was to give a clear, pronounced and public expression to the leading principles of American Reform Judaism, while, on the other hand, the urgency of having Einhorn's Prayerbook, then in use by many prominent congregations, rendered into the vernacular was discussed by the younger rabbis, and this led finally to the adoption by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Atlantic City in 1894 of the Union Prayerbook based mainly on Einhorn's ritual. The whole movement brought about the consolidation of

the progressive forces of American Judaism. With this object in view, *The Jewish Reformer* was then started by me, partly in English and partly German, and Emil G. Hirsch who had played a conspicuous role at the Pittsburgh Conference, became co-editor, a regular contributor to both the English and the German sections. Many of his articles, among which I would single out his discourses on Isaiah of Babylon, on Ethical Judaism and Ethical Materialism, bear the stamp of genuine mastery. Owing to lack of support, however, the *Journal* soon became defunct and forgotten.

Meanwhile Emil G. Hirsch became a power in the Chicago community and felt called upon to have an organ of his own. In 1892 he started the *Reform Advocate*, for which he wrote the leading articles that have all these years commanded the attention of all such readers as loved independence of thought. Numerous discourses and essays were published therein, dealing with an endless variety of subjects, theoretical and practical, ancient and modern, popular and scholarly; but always luminous, suggestive and of telling force. Noteworthy were the articles on the New Testament history as well as on prophetic and rabbinical literature; and above all the stand Hirsch took in the cause of social justice. Most effective was the mighty power the *Reform Advocate* wielded as the sharp, critical observer and fearless censor of the religious and social conditions and occurrences in Jewish and Christian circles of the city of Chicago, or the country at large. As in his pulpit utterances, so did Hirsch in his weekly editorials unsparingly expose by his sarcasm, which often pierced friend and foe like a two-edged sword, sham and hypocrisy, ignorance and folly in high or low places, insisting upon what in his opinion was right and true.

When the Biblical Department of the Jewish Encyclopedia in its first two volumes under the editorship of Morris Jastrow allowed Christian scholars to furnish articles which rather militated against the spirit of positive Judaism, Hirsch was appointed Department Editor at my suggestion. In writing most of these articles himself, he gave evidence in a remarkable degree of profound and indefatigable study and of original research. Later on he likewise contributed a number of articles to Hasting's

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. He also translated, in masterly diction, Dr. Einhorn's Ritual for Temple Sinai and such other Congregations as would not part with their cherished Prayerbook *Olath Tamid*, omitting, however, the entire domestic service.

But Hirsch's sphere of activity expanded in many directions. In 1888 he was appointed a member, and later on, President of the Board of Trustees of the Chicago Public Library, remaining in office until 1897. He was Presidential Elector-at-large in 1896, and was a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Public Charities of the State of Illinois in 1897 and 1906. From 1892 on, for a number of years, he occupied the chair of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy at the University of Chicago. That same year he was appointed the Turnbull Lecturer at Johns Hopkins University taking "Jewish Poetry" for his subject. At the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, he gave a series of lectures on the "Historical Development of Jewish Theology", in 1901, upon which occasion he received the D. D. degree and was elected a member of its Board of Governors. Fourteen years later he gave another series of lectures there, treating of "Judaism's Relation to Unitarianism, Monism, and Ethical Culturism." When I became the President of the College, he manifested his warm interest in the institution by a powerful address on the occasion of my inaugural and aided me by securing substantial subscriptions for the College from his congregation. He was constantly chosen as orator on public and patriotic occasions in various cities and also engaged as lecturer at large throughout the country, which gave him the opportunity of enlightening the people on the various topics of the day, particularly on those pertaining to education, morality and religion, thereby bringing about a better understanding of Judaism among the masses. Berlin and London audiences also occasionally learnt to know and admire him as preacher and orator.

In the Chicago community he devoted much of his time and labor to the promotion of the common welfare, social, intellectual and moral. Hirsch zealously espoused the cause of the Russian Jews living mostly on the West Side, and he took a leading part in the founding and maintenance of a Manual

Training School and other organizations. In 1912 he saw his great work for Sinai's Temple and its large field of activity throughout the city crowned by the erection of an imposing two-fold structure, the one dedicated to the divine worship, the other to the various functions of a social center—a proud ornament to the entire community.

Having thus been privileged as preacher, writer and communal worker to cast a unique lustre upon American Judaism and the Jew, as was vouchsafed to but few men in the century, and blessed as he was with uncommon gifts and uncommon opportunities, he was easily induced, like his congregation, in its pride of having him as leader, to stand forth alone in self-sufficient power and glory, preferring to abide by his more radical views to co-operation with his colleagues of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; though he frequently gave full and free expression to his views at their sessions. Ardent advocate of enlightened Judaism as he was, he had little sympathy with the emotional elements, the mystic side of religion, the divine revelation being altogether conceived by him as an act of reason, in contradistinction to the theological system of Einhorn, the theologian *par excellence* among the Reform pioneers. From this same point of view he did not sufficiently value the ceremonial practices of Judaism which, with their symbolic significance are in some form or other to foster and preserve our ancient heritage in the home as well as in the synagogue. Instead, Hirsch laid all the stress on Israel's task as the exponent and promoter of the highest verities and ideals of humanity in the spirit of prophetic Judaism; and he loved all the more as Jew to work hand in hand with the leaders of radical liberalism in other religious denominations. The Zionist movement he persistently opposed in the pulpit and in the press from its very beginning.

His last years were years of anxiety and ailment. His robust constitution gave way under the heavy burden of the toil he underwent during his lifetime. Especially did the harrowing effects of the war affect him. Only the celebration of his seventieth birthday, two years ago, which was made the occasion of a wondrous outburst of spontaneous homage paid him by

the representatives of the various classes and ranks of men all over the land and also from beyond the sea, expressive of the universal admiration and appreciation of his life-long efforts on behalf of Judaism and humanity, endowed him for a time with new vigor and elasticity, enabling him to preach with the old fire. But he overtaxed his strength.

To the surprise of many, he joined the cause of the Free Synagog of Stephen S. Wise, accepting the honorary Presidency of the Institute of Religion, fostered by the latter, going to New York to manifest in eloquent addresses his interest in the work disapproved by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It was apparently his high opinion of the Berlin Hochschule which, in rejecting the restraint of a specific theological or rabbinical school, would offer the academic freedom of the University to both teachers and students, which appealed to him.

Alas! the collapse of his physical powers followed all too soon, and on January 7, 1923, Emil Gustave Hirsch passed away, mourned alike by Jew and Christian the world over as a prince among men. "The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life" for the generations that come after him; his soul has entered into the realm of God's beloved who "shine like the brightness of the firmament, and like the stars forever and aye."

In the death of Emil Gustave Hirsch, the eminent preacher and leader, the distinguished rabbi of Sinai Congregation of Chicago, and the wonderously gifted spokesman for American Judaism and the Jew, the Central Conference of American Rabbis in common with all Jewry, mourns the passing of one of its truly great men and princes of Israel. Divine Providence has singled him out among his contemporaries to stand forth as a unique force to glorify Judaism by the power of his masterful tongue and pen, and win a wide world for a better appreciation of its lofty idealism in the spirit of true *Kiddush Ha Shem*. He excelled, not merely by a rare comprehensive scholarship, but also as a gigantic toiler for the promotion of human welfare in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles. As an inspiring example to coming generations he will live in the annals of history, and his colleagues of the Central Conference of American Rabbis will ever cherish his memory, as will Sinai Temple and the Chicago Community, to whom they extend their warmest sympathy.

JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF

HENRY BERKOWITZ

The Central Conference of American Rabbis convenes under the shadow of a great loss. Fifteen days ago there passed to his eternal rest one of our most eminent, most beloved members, a strong pillar of support, upholding the Temple of American Judaism, Joseph Krauskopf of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who died in Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 12, 1923, aged sixty-five years and five months.

The public press has everywhere extolled his life and bewailed his death. Leaders of the nation have paid tribute to the patriotic service he rendered to our beloved country, the home of his adoption and ardent devotion. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, the Governor and other officials of that State have given expression to the value of his notable activities as a leading citizen during the past thirty-six years. The Mayor of the city of Philadelphia and many men and women prominent in its civic, philanthropic, educational and religious life, have voiced the common sorrow of all classes, creeds and sections in the passing of a brave and fearless champion of every righteous cause. The Congregation Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia and the multitudes whom he taught, guided and inspired, bowed at his bier and heard the last powerful, thrilling sermon which in his Ethical Will he left as a farewell admonition and heritage to those whose welfare was dearer to him than the breath of life. And the last tender offices of humanity and religion were paid to him by the boys of the National Farm School, that great institution his far-reaching vision had conceived, his venturesome initiation had founded, his tireless energy had builded and his dauntless courage and boundless enthusiasm had sustained through twenty-five years. This he held to be his chief legacy to the people, a con-

structive agency in the promotion of the welfare of American Youth.

All these testimonies do but emphasize the common grief felt in the whole household of American Israel in whose common service Joseph Krauskopf dedicated his rare gifts to all these noble works.

Upon us, as leaders of congregations from all parts of the land now rests the trying task to give some utterance, however feeble, to the sense of loss that weighs upon our hearts.

He was our brother in service and we were bound in the bonds of fellowship by the sublime inspirations and ideals to which, as rabbis, our lives are consecrated. Knit together in the closest ties of mutual endeavors through the agency of this Conference, we now feel most keenly the sudden severing of the intimate ties of personal friendship with him fostered through the years.

He brought all his rare creative gifts, his energetic executive and wise administrative capacities to the furtherance of many of the interests of our Conference. During the two years of his incumbency as President (1903-5), he entirely reorganized its working machinery and brought it to the state of efficiency demanded by ever expanding activities.

His place is vacant. We shall forever miss his sage counsel, his genial comradeship, his commanding force of leadership.

His spirit, exalted, purified and ennobled, is enshrined with us as an everlasting blessing and we bow in devout humility to the Supreme Will.

ברוך דין האמת

Praised be the Just Judge!

SAMUEL MENDELSON

GEORGE SOLOMON

In the death of Rabbi Samuel Mendelsohn, another link has been severed from the gradually lessening chain binding American Israel to its early days.

Born in Russia, March 31, 1850, he came to this country eighteen years later. After completing his rabbinical training in the theological seminary at Philadelphia, he served as Rabbi, first in Norfolk, Va., from 1873-1876, and then for forty-seven years at Wilmington, N. C. In 1879 he married Miss Esther Jastrow of Philadelphia. It was more than a physical union. Supremely happy and fortunate in his marriage, he became allied with the scholarly and refined activities of the Jastrow family. Quiet, modest, retiring, this gentle scholar and lovable man, with unassuming diligence and devotion, gave himself in a small city, to the pursuit of study and the service of his fellows. His "Criminal Jurisprudence Among The Ancient Hebrews" evidences his knowledge of Jewish law and love, and his further writings pointing out the depth and reach of the talmudic grasp of medical science, eagerly received by the physicians in our modern era, shows the practical value of his scholarship.

Be it therefore Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, extend its sympathy to the bereaved family and to the congregation he served so long and faithfully, and gratefully if sorrowfully, add his name to the lengthening list of devoted souls who have faithfully served God, Israel and their fellowmen.

MARTIN A. MEYER

HYMAN G. ENELOW

Our meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis has been darkened by the news of the sudden death of our dear colleague, Rabbi Martin A. Meyer. We had hardly paid our tribute to the memory of Emil G. Hirsch, Joseph Krauskopf, and our other friends who had departed during the year, when shocked by the news of his passing. Thus does death seize upon young and old alike, bearing them hence on the far ocean of eternity.

Martin Meyer was one of our younger men. He had not yet reached the zenith of his life and work. There are those of us here who remember him as a fellow-student at the Hebrew Union College, not so very long ago, and who think of him as he was then—full of youth and promise. Already at College Martin Meyer showed his mettle—*gam bemaalav yithnakker naar*. He stood out by his fine character, studious habits, and the lofty interpretation of the work to which he had dedicated himself. That combination of earnestness and intensity which came to distinguish his manhood, marked him even as a youth. It was as a result of his work as a student that upon graduation he won a traveling fellowship offered by the American Society for Oriental Research. This enabled him to spend a year of study in Palestine, in the course of which he laid the foundation of his work on the history of the City of Gaza, with which he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University and which, when published, was acknowledged as a scholarly product of high order.

Though one of our younger rabbis, Martin Meyer shaped his career in accord with the oldest traditions of the rabbinic

function. "The world rests on three things," we are told by an ancient Jewish master, "Torah, Worship, and Acts of Love." Here we have a summary of Martin Meyer's activity.

First, he was true to the Torah, to the ideal of learning and teaching. Throughout his ministry in Albany, Brooklyn, and San Francisco, his love of the intellectual products of both the past and the present never abated. If his own mind remained over eager for more knowledge, he was no less zealous to help others in the process of mental and spiritual progress. He was constantly on the lookout for new books that might prove helpful in his quest of truth, and, similarly, he rejoiced in the opportunity of imparting knowledge to others, whether in his own congregation or through other agencies. At the University of California, for many years, he taught Jewish subjects, while the Jewish Chautauqua Society found in him a faithful friend. It was for this Society that he wrote a valuable work on Methods of Teaching Post-Biblical History.

No less devoted was Dr. Meyer to the ideal of *Abodah*, Worship. There was no conflict in him between the intellectual and the spiritual. On the contrary, the intellectual pursuit he regarded as an important part of those spiritual purposes of life which he aimed to promote. He did not content himself with the conduct and encouragement of worship in his own temple. He organized Divine Services in various other places near and far—in institutions and small communities—, deriving profound satisfaction from the fact that he was able to put some of his own pupils in charge of such religious activities.

No less loyal was Martin Meyer to the tradition of *Gemiluth Hasadin*. There are those who seem to regard social service as something new in Religion—as a recent discovery. As far as Judaism is concerned, it has always formed an integral part of Religion. It is as old as Abraham, as Moses, as the Prophets and the Psalmists. Religion is impossible, certainly imperfect, without fulfilment of those divine duties commonly designated as social service or social justice. *Wa-ani bezedek ezeḥ panekha*: through righteousness—as the Rabbis construed this verse—shall we be allowed to behold the Divine Countenance. Just

because Martin Meyer loved the Torah and Abodah, just because he was animated by the intellectual and spiritual traditions of Judaism, it was natural for him to champion the cause of social service, the cause of justice and mercy in human affairs. None denounced evil and corruption with more intense passion, and none was more eager than he to so improve the conditions of life as to advance the welfare of the masses. Nor was his love of service limited to eloquent speech in its behalf. He expressed it by personal acts time and again, as, for instance, during the War, when he went to France in the service of the Red Cross and worked tirelessly at the post assigned him.

Now, you are gone, Martin Meyer! Far and wide your passing is lamented. Some mourn for you as loving husband and father; others, as cherished friend; still others, as teacher and guide. We of the Central Conference of American Rabbis mourn you as our brother, colleague, fellow-worker—as one who adhered to the noblest ideals of our calling and sought with all his might to enact them in his own life and in the lives of his fellowmen. *T'hi naphsh^ekah z'erurah bitzror ha-ḥayyim.* May thy soul live on in the realm of life!

LEOPOLD WINTNER

CLIFTON HARBY LEVY

The oldest member of our Conference, Leopold Wintner, departed this life May 19th, in his eighty-eighth year. His had been an honorable and long career of modest service in the cause of Israel. Born in Austro-Hungary he had attended the Universities of Tübingen and Jena, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the latter. Coming to the United States in 1863, he officiated in Louisville, then in Detroit, and in 1877 went to Temple Beth Elohim of Williamsburg, Brooklyn, where his active ministry lasted for upwards of thirty years. He has been the leader of his people, beloved by the entire community, working modestly and earnestly for his congregants.

He was typically a "Disciple of Hillel," loving peace and pursuing it, teaching by precept and example this great Jewish doctrine. His colleagues hardly knew the depth of his scholarship, so retiring was his disposition, yet his attainments were worthy of admiration.

Whatever he had and was he placed unreservedly at the service of his people who admired and loved him as many rabbis would like to be beloved. In his self-sacrifice he denied himself much, and gave all. He carried self-effacement to the extreme, thus militating against real understanding and full appreciation. Had he been slightly more aggressive, he might have been the more fully understood, might have been gauged at his real worth. But the world is heedless, and seldom stops to consider the modest man who simply works without blare of trumpet or shouting from the house-tops. All the greater pity that we have to wait until a man has passed from our ken before we award him the meed of appreciation.

Early bereaved of his dearly beloved wife, he remained true to her memory, devoting himself to the rearing of their five children, and to the labor in the vineyard of the Eternal.

May his memory be a blessing to his people, to his children, and to his colleagues of this Central Conference of American Rabbis!

E

THE JEWISH STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY

EUGENE MANNHEIMER

It is twenty-seven years ago that Rabbis Louis Grossman, Samuel Schulman and Emil G. Hirsch joined in the presentation of a resolution, at the Milwaukee meeting in 1896, which for the first time, called the attention of this Conference to the importance of taking an interest in the intellectual and religious welfare of the Jewish students at our American colleges and universities. (Year Book, 1896, P. 85.)

Nothing came of this earliest suggestion, and it is not until ten years later, in 1906, that we find a Committee on Religious Work in Universities actually functioning in the name of our Conference.

Since then, as in 1906, so again in 1908, 1909, 1912, 1914, and annually since 1914, through the reports and the work of this Committee, the Conference has never ceased to urge upon the whole Jewish community in America, as well as upon its own members, the paramount importance of what, for lack of a better term, we may call Jewish students' welfare work.

Today, a survey of the field shows, in addition to the Conference itself, The Department of Synagog and School Extension, The Intercollegiate Menorah Association, The Jewish Chautauqua Society, five or six Jewish Greek Letter Societies, The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, The Council of Jewish Women, The Women's League of The United Synagog, The Union of Orthodox Congregations, possibly The Intercollegiate Zionist Association,—and besides these national organizations, innumerable local organizations, (congregations, men's clubs and women's clubs,)—all more or less busily engaged in doing, sometimes more and sometimes less, to meet the social, intellectual and religious needs of our Jewish university students.

As goes without saying in much, if not in most of this work, it is the rabbis of America, particularly the members of this Conference, who have willingly borne the brunt of its burden.

Confronted, as we thus would seem to be, by such manifest, manifold interest and activity, on the part of local as of national organizations, on the part of "laymen" as of rabbis, it certainly should not appear necessary for me today, again to argue the case for Jewish students' welfare work; again to cover the ground which has so often and so fully been covered by the reports of our own Committees. It would also seem certain, that wherever and to whatever extent it is needed, Jewish students' welfare work is now an established and accepted part of our routine Jewish communal program.

And yet, turn to the very last, the 1922 report of our Committee on Religious Work in Universities. That report is signed by Rabbis Leo M. Franklin, Chairman, Frederick Cohn, Samuel Gup, Louis Kopald, Isaac Landman, Louis Mann, Jacob Singer and Richard M. Stern. These men must be familiar with all the facts which I have just briefly summarized. And still, in their report, we find that they declare:

"We believe that there is an almost universal failure on the part of our national organizations as well as on the part of individuals who truly desire to serve the cause of Judaism, to sense the far-reaching importance of bringing the message of Judaism to our young men and women during their student years. We believe that some organized plan of educating the public to the tremendous value of this work ought to be devised." (Year Book, 1922, P. 75.)

Or again, Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, of the University of Illinois, is a man of fine spirit, a man of character and judgment who has amply demonstrated his deep appreciation of Judaism and his high regard for the Jew. At the university, he, too, is in position to know. This is what he writes:

"The greatest weakness of modern Judaism seems to me to be its failure to provide for the ethical and spiritual training of its young people

"The case of the Jewish students at our colleges and universities in this regard is particularly tragic. Gathering from hither and yon, the majority of them from orthodox homes, vastly outnumbered by their Christian fellows, they come to face, if not social ostracism, at least neglect.

"That the most neglected group in our great universities is, indeed, the Jewish students there can be no question (The) habitual neglect to provide for the ethical and spiritual guidance of these youths baffles explanation.

"That they, (the members of the Jewish community) have not hitherto recognized the need for doing something is the more amazing because the need is so obvious and so imperative." ("A Proposed Investment in Character," by Edward Chauncey Baldwin, in "The Jewish Advocate," Thursday, March 22, 1923.)

How can these men write such things? In the face of all our brave showing, how can Dr. Baldwin have the temerity to tell us that our Jewish students at universities are so neglected that their case is tragic? How can Rabbi Franklin and his associates declare that our national organizations and some of our most loyal individual Jews are not awake, in the face of danger or of duty?

In the case of Dr. Baldwin the answer seems evident. He himself acknowledges in that article from which I have quoted, that as far as he is aware, no measures have as yet been taken to keep alive the Jewish ideals of Jewish students, other than through the organization of The Intercollegiate Menorah Association. That, of course, means that he is ignorant of, has never heard of the great variety of work carried on by our other organizations. It means that it is only out of the depths of his ignorance that he offers his criticisms. With this explained,

we may, if we wish, consider the charges met and the case dismissed.

But, if Dr. Baldwin is thus strangely unfamiliar with the work of our leading Jewish organizations,—which in itself, should give us food for thought,—his article provides ample evidence that he is fully informed of the great work which Christian organizations are doing for their university students. As he is informed of this, so we may know, or if we do not know, we may easily learn, that as at Illinois, so at the other institutions of higher learning the country over, our Christian denominations are tremendously active in behalf of the religious nurture of their youth. Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and many others, have all taken up this work on the largest possible scale.

In general, their aim is to place a student-pastor and to establish a student social-religious center for the student group of each denomination, at every American college and university at which this is necessary or desirable. The money they spend annually on this work runs into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. If we include the cost of buildings and their equipment, it amounts into the millions.

As thus suggested, a comprehensive comparison of our Jewish, with such well-organized and extensive Christian student work, should not alone demonstrate, positively as well as comparatively, that our Jewish students are as neglected as Dr. Baldwin charges. It should also leave the impression that our 1922 Committee on Religious Work in Universities knew whereof it spoke, when it broadly intimated that we Jews are no more alive to the full possibilities of the work than we are to the urgent necessity of making generous provision for its adequate pursuit.

But, let us not develop our subject today from the point of view of such comparison of our Jewish work with similar Christian activity. Let us look at it from the point of view of what we and our Jewish organizations are doing compared to what we might and ought be doing. And here again, it should not take long, and it ought not take much argument to bring us to realize how grossly inadequate our work is.

For, grant indeed, as I think it must be granted, that there is an element of exaggeration in that statement of our Committee on Religious Work in Universities, that "there is an almost universal failure" on the part of our organizations and of many loyal individuals, "to sense the far-reaching importance of bringing the message of Judaism to our young men and women, during their college years." Grant, as should be granted, that our national and numerous local organizations, some of our fine "laymen," and especially our rabbis, are doing everything that their time and their resources will permit, to meet the social, intellectual and religious needs of our Jewish university students.

It is estimated that at the present time there are 20,000 Jewish men and women enrolled in the student bodies of our American colleges, universities and professional schools. Rabbi Harry Levi is my authority for the statement that there are 5,000 Jewish students alone in the institutions of higher learning in and about Boston. The number in New York City is estimated at 7,500. Professor Baldwin states there are 3,000 at ten of the big universities in the middle west. Scattered over the rest of the country, there are scores of institutions whose student bodies include from a handful to several hundred Jewish students.

Although when I originally planned this paper it was my intention to do so at some length, time will not permit me to stop to examine and to review even briefly the kind and the amount of work which is actually and really being done by local communities and under the auspices of our several national organizations, to meet the complex needs of this ever-increasing host of Jewish students. But this one fact may well serve as indicative of the whole situation. Last year in the face of that vast amount of student work that lay open before it, the Department of Synagog and School Extension had the magnificent sum of fifteen to sixteen hundred dollars at its command for any and all such purposes.

Wisely, but to the consequently necessary neglect of all its other possibilities, the Department concentrated this sum on an

effort to finance the work of the nineteen, now twenty, Jewish student congregations. This year the Department has been granted an additional \$4,500., to permit the employment of one man who, to all intents and purposes, will be the first and only full-time student-work field-secretary whom we have ever had in the field.

Our rabbis are the first to insist that while it may be much better than nothing, a hurried trip to a university, to preach before a Jewish student congregation, and then to rush away without having had the time to meet, visit and talk personally with the individual student, is anything but the kind of service which ought be rendered and which they would wish to render our Jewish students, if they could but steal the time from their multitudinous other duties.

One colleague writes: "University work has meant thus far—making reports of our inactivities—very largely; or at best, an account of isolated efforts at some university centers." Another says: "Not much is being done in any really systematic and big way. Our large Jewish communities have neither the time, the resources or the personnel to meet this specific task."

Unless our self-complacency is impenetrable, unless we are so concerned with being able to "point with pride" that the welfare of our Jewish students becomes our secondary consideration, in the face of even the little evidence that I have touched upon, it should not be necessary for some one to try to force us to admit, we should hasten to concede that compared to what needs to be done, if we are to win the allegiance of our Jewish university youth for Judaism, all that we are doing fades into insignificance. The more thoroughly we investigate for ourselves, the more strongly will we be convinced of it.

But, at this point, just as I feel that we are ready to go on from the consideration of these things which we are—and are not—doing, to the thought of what we should be doing, I can imagine hearing someone protest: "All that you suggest of the inadequacy of our work may be correct. All that you intimate of its ineffectiveness may be justified. But, when all is said and done, the real, the basic, the fundamental trouble is

not with our work, and assuredly not with our workers, but with our Jewish students themselves. We have tried to do everything on earth for them that we could think of. But they have failed, and they have refused to respond."

In consideration, and to no little extent in support of such charges, let me say, that last winter, after I had accepted the invitation to present this paper, I sent a questionnaire to about twenty-five of my colleagues, and to several recent university graduates, who had had that personal contact and experience with Jewish university students, in their native haunts and habitat, which I lacked completely, and in this questionnaire, among other things, I asked:

As suggested by your personal contact and experience with the Jewish university student, what do you find his interest in and his attitude toward Judaism and all things Jewish, to be?

Do you find that he is any different in these things from the average non-university Jew of the same age; or from the average Jew?

What do you hold the problem of the Jewish university student to be, and what are you and your community, (or congregation,) (or both,) doing to meet it?

In replying to these questions, one colleague at least, was happily able to inform me, that in his community they have no problem; the Jewish students from the near-by university attend services as frequently as their time permits, and similarly, they also participate freely in the serious work of the Temple Club. While not quite as fortunate as this, a number of other colleagues were still able to report satisfactory results from their efforts, and an encouraging response from the student body as a whole. So the darkness of the composite picture of the Jewish college man and woman which my brother-rabbis painted for me, was not entirely unrelieved by some rays of light.

But it should be noted that there was a substantial agreement on one point, on the part of the men from whom I heard. (And I wish to say that I had the most splendid, detailed and

helpful reply from nearly every man to whom I wrote.) They were practically unanimous in holding that, taking them as a whole, our Jewish university students are in no wise different from the average Jew, of their own or of any age, in their interest in and their attitude toward Judaism and all things Jewish. This in itself, I take it, must be held as conclusive evidence that their interest and attitude are anything but what they should be.

In writing me, my colleagues emphasized that there is no such creature as THE Jewish university student; that Jewish groups, as all other groups, are composed of all sorts and conditions of men and women, the "zealous, interested, indifferent, hostile;" and therefore, that any attempt to characterize all Jewish university students in the mass must prove unfair and unjust to these students.

They did not fail to point out that Jewish nationalism, the Menorah movement, the Jewish Greek Letter Societies, the Jewish student congregations, and similar factors all had had their effect. They recognized the need to discriminate between the mental and the religious attitude of the boy who came from an "orthodox" and the boy who came from a "reform" Jewish home.

They were emphatically of the opinion that there is no difference to be found between Jewish and Christian university students in their attitude toward religion. Least of all did they fail to mention that, especially of late, anti-Semitism has been a potent force in helping to arouse a certain sort of Jewish consciousness in our Jewish students.

We need at all times to keep these qualifying limitations in mind, as they did.

But, when one rabbi wrote:

"The average university student is indifferent to Judaism and all things Jewish. Of course there are glorious exceptions. But as a rule Jewish university men are indifferent to Judaism,"

then, in thus expressing his own opinion, he most certainly also expressed the average opinion with regard to the average Jewish

university student which is held by the average rabbi of the group to whom I wrote.

Characterizing all American university students, and then paying some additional attention to the Jewish student group, one colleague, for whose mature judgment, and judgments, I have the utmost respect, stated that he finds that,

“Our students are immature, wilful, boyish, childish; the serious note repels them; their ideals of manliness are mainly athletic. The boy or girl among them who cares for culture for its own sake is ridiculed. Among Jewish youth we find an occasional boy to whom orthodoxy has been presented in a fire-light of loyal constancy and steadfast selfcontrol, or some boy to whom Zionism appeals as a noble vision. The Menorah work forms a disheartening test of the social barriers between Russian and American Jew, a test which extremely few fine German boys defy. The Z. B. T. and other fraternities pan out most poorly in Jewish interest; like most imitations, they copy the defects of their originals.”

The following is the opinion of a colleague who has had years of experience with the Jewish university student, within as well as without the class-room.

“My personal contact has convinced me that all Jewish student bodies may be divided into two classes: A. Jewish nationalists who are only interested in Palestine, barring a few exceptions sometimes inclined towards Judaism as a religion.

B. So-called Jewish religionists, who are not interested in the Jewish religion or the organized synagog, but whose Jewish consciousness becomes all of a sudden aroused, prompting the intercession of some Jewish member of the faculty, when they are debarred from fraternities, athletic sports, or a limitation is put on Jewish numbers in the student body.”

Then he continues:

"You ask what I hold the problem of the Jewish university student to be. Do you expect me to give you a scheme of reformation and salvation for him? We in this community have tried everything. We have invited the Jewish university students, male and female, to our congregational activities, devotional, educational and entertaining. They rarely came in response to the invitation. We then appealed to what we believed was their academic group instinct and had them entertained under the finest auspices as students, without mingling with any of the young people of the community, excepting those belonging to the *intelligenza*. As long as *Jazz* was furnished, and a *Feed* went with the dancing, they were interested. But here their interest ended as far as congregational activities were concerned.

I could go on in this way, for pages, reading to you the illuminating and thought-provoking opinions with which my colleagues favored me in answer to those three questions with regard to the problem, the Jewish interests and attitudes of our Jewish university students.

After I had finished with that, I could then go on for many more pages, giving you their equally illuminating and thought-provoking answers to the several other questions which were contained in my questionnaire.

One of these inquired with regard to the interest in the congregation and in Jewish communal affairs taken by the Jewish university graduate. Another question asked an opinion on the value of the Jewish Greek Letter Fraternity.

Both of these are questions of importance in connection with our subject. I am sure that you would find their discussion interesting and significant.

But again, the same story,—our time will not permit. And I can only trust, as I have no doubt has been the case, that the one or two detailed statements which I have already read

to you have been sufficient to make it clear that the men who have had the longest personal experience and contact with the Jewish student at our universities are strongly inclined to this opinion:—that taking them all in all, it does no one an injustice to say that whatever else the average Jewish student may find his interests to be, he can scarcely, at least rightfully, be accused of permitting his Judaism to be much, if any, real concern to him.

Without arguing the matter, let us assume, as in the face of the evidence I feel we have the right to assume, that our colleagues are fully justified in their conclusion that the average Jewish university student is indifferent toward Judaism, and that at best, his Jewish consciousness is a negative, rather than a positive influence and value for his life. Let us also realize, that as these things are true, they would seem to go a long way toward justifying anyone who would care to argue that our "greatest trouble" is not with our work and not with our workers, but with our Jewish students themselves.

But what then? Do these conclusions amaze us? Should they occasion even a ripple of surprise?

We know most intimately that home, empty of all Jewish atmosphere and inspiration; and that community, permeated with materialism, and with religious doubt, indifference and confusion; and that religious school, weak and ineffective; in which the lives of these Jewish boys and girls were molded during those seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years which preceded their entrance into the college world.

We also know that college atmosphere, scientific, oftenest nowadays with a strong dash and odor of the anti-Semitic, which engulfs our Jewish men and women, once they have entered upon their college careers.

If then, under all such conditions, our Jewish university men and women do not often arise to the occasion, as we would so piously hope and wish, to show that flaming zeal for God and that noble pride in their Jewishness, which we feel that all true sons and daughters of the Covenant should display, then should

we feel that we have a right to charge them with base ingratitude to their parents and teachers, and with cowardly disloyalty to their people's heroic past? Or, rather, should we not, indeed, be amazed if ever they respond in any way, to any appeal that is made to them in the name of Judaism?—in the name of God and the faith of their fathers?

In either event, it does us no good to storm and to rage against our Jewish university youth. Nor does it help to rage and storm against their elders. We cannot even permit ourselves the luxury of a discouragement which, having convinced us that the situation is hopeless, would then permit us to disregard it completely with a clear conscience.

Whether or not these Jewish university students know that they need us, we know that we need them! And so, in the end, whether we come at it from a study of the character and shortcomings of our Jewish students, or approach the issue through an investigation of the character and the shortcomings of our efforts in their behalf,—in the end, the great, the final, the one and only question is this:—What are we going to do about it?

What can and what must we do, to make our Jewish university students—Jewish? For their own best spiritual good, as well as for the good and the future welfare of Judaism and of Israel in America, how can we make our Jewish college men and women Jewish in spirit and in their loyalties?

In coming to a consideration of the possible answer to these questions, I am sure that I need not take the time to apologize for the fact that I do not have a panacea for all our troubles to offer you today. Nor need I stop to explain that nothing which is about to be presented makes the slightest pretention at being original or new. The first were not be to expected or asked of me under any circumstance. The other will make itself sufficiently obvious as I proceed.

A moment ago I spoke of the forces which mould the lives of our Jewish university students before they enter college. In the light of that thought, and as it will readily occur to us all, undoubtedly the first thing that needs to be emphasized is, that if we really wish to have our Jewish boys and girls more Jew-

ish in their lives, and in their sympathies after they get to college, then we can not afford to wait until they get there before we begin to concern ourselves seriously with their Jewish education and the strengthening of their Jewish consciousness.

As we have heard it insisted upon a thousand times, if we want our Jewish children to be loyal Jews when they have grown to manhood and womanhood then must we rear them in homes that are Jewish in spirit and in influence. We must educate them in religious schools which will teach them their Jewish history and literature, and above all the content and the requirement of their religion, in such a way that they will never be able to forget. By our example, more than by our precept, we must impress upon our children that Judaism is a vital element in the life of every true and worthy Jew.

The statement of these things is so commonplace that it probably wearies us to boredom to be compelled to listen to their repetition. But, however commonplace they are, their realization is still the dream of a seemingly distant tomorrow. And therefore, it remains our unpleasant necessity to continue to harp on them, until, through their achievement, we shall have solved the "problem" of our Jewish university student—long before he has become a student and a problem.

But, in the meantime, while we are waiting and working for the coming of that happiest of future days,—now, today, in the immediate hour, we have with us in our colleges, that present generation of indifferent, more or less completely irreligious Jewish students. To meet their problem, our problem,—and here I quote the most admirable statement of a colleague who, in answer to my question, wrote:

"Our problem is, on the intellectual side, to bring to the Jewish university student, convincingly, that religion in general and Judaism in particular, are not discredited by modern thought and science; on the social side, somehow to equip him with Jewish self-respect and pride in his ancestry in the face of prejudice and discrimination; and on the practical side, to make him realize that Jewry and Judaism crucially need, and as crucially look for future

leadership to the men and women who are receiving larger cultural training and advantages."

As thus so splendidly re-summarized and re-stated for us by our colleague,—in its graver aspects our problem, our task is nothing less than to take these Jewish young men and women, educated in modern science and philosophy, who are caught in the confusion of our generation's religious doubt and indifference, and who are molded by its materialism,—to take them and to fill them with a consciousness of God; with a manly and womanly pride in their Jewishness; and with the conviction that on their shoulders rests the responsibility which they dare not shirk, for the future leadership of Israel, and for the future welfare of Judaism in America.

"Some task!", I hear you exclaim. And so it is. But, today, the exigencies of time uniting with my own personal limitations to make it impossible for me to do full justice to a complete and systematic discussion of all that this task demands of us, with your certain indulgence, let me confine my comment to the following somewhat disconnected and perhaps more or less self-evident statements or propositions:

1. If ever we are to succeed in convincing the modern science and philosophy educated Jewish university student that religion in general and Judaism in particular have not been discredited by modern science, then, among other things, it will be most necessary that first we free our preaching and teaching of religion from all possibility of suspicion that we are still trying to apologize for, are trying to explain away by some illogical, incomprehensible process of reasoning, any points connected with religious traditions which the student knows cannot stand in the face of the accepted and established hypotheses and facts of true science in general, and of biblical criticism in particular.

2. In direct and complete contrast to the spirit and method of the Bryanesque frenzy and folly, we will have to make it plain to the student that when we come to offer ourselves as guides into the spiritual realm into which science cannot enter, and for which science can offer him no chart, that we stand four-square with the student himself, on the foundation which

science has laid; and that it is on such foundation, from such starting place, that we would wish to take him on with us, on to a living faith in God,—to a living faith in a God who is not that whimsical Power our ancestors sometime believed Him to be, but a God of Law, who rules through, and is Himself governed by that divine Law which He, Himself, has ordained.

As a partial illustration of what I have in mind relative to this whole subject of "science and religion," from this one point of view, I would refer you to an editorial which appeared in *The American Hebrew* of June 1, 1923, (P. 45), which told of the reaction of a Jewish university student to a commentary on *The Pirke Avoth*, which his father had sent him.

The book was written by a rabbi, supposed to be modern. It argued that "the Pentateuch and the traditions that center around it were extant in the days of the Judges; that prophetic Judaism was the same in the days of Moses as in the days of the Prophets; that the Torah was dictated by God to Moses; and that Moses laid Tefillin." Simply calling it "bunk," the boy tossed the book into the waste-basket.

Of course, no member of this Conference would be guilty of that sort of thing. But, as the editor goes on to suggest:—"The Rabbi who makes such statements in a commentary to *'The Ethics'*, is modern only in the sense that he is alive today; religiously he lives in the Dark Ages. The college man's intellect and common sense cannot be bent to conform to old theology. The sooner parents and rabbis understand and acknowledge that fact, the sooner will they be able to cope with holding the college man within the fold of Judaism."

3. When we look at our problem of the Jewish university student from its social side, to consider how we may equip the student with "Jewish self-respect and pride in his ancestry in the face of prejudice and discrimination," then, as we will all be agreed, our primary need and purpose must be to teach him his own Jewish history and literature.

We must teach the Jewish university student the story of his own people, the "People of the Book." We must teach him how his people wrote *The Book*, and then, how having written

it, dispersed to the four corners of the earth, despised and persecuted, they lived on—by living in its spirit. We must impress upon the Jewish student all the contributions to humanity and to human progress which Israel has made during the four thousand years of its existence.

But, and this is my fourth point, offering or giving our Jewish university youth “a Jewish self-respect” which is nothing but “a pride of ancestry,” a self-respect which is totally dependent upon his right and his ability to glory in the glorious life and achievements of his ancestors,—this, of itself, can never be enough. We must find and offer him the “cause,” the immediately present purpose, whose inspiring appeal will fan the low flame of his appreciation for a great but dead yesterday into a fire of enthusiasm for his own zealous Jewish life and service now.

Of all the possible “causes” that might here be considered, in spite of the fact that it has failed as yet, so to arouse the hearts and the lives of its own ostensible advocates and champions, it appeals to me that it is the ideal of “the mission of Israel” as emphasized by our own reform Judaism, which still holds out the greatest promise of serving us as that “cause,” whose inspiration could and should spur our Jewish university students on, to a life of service and sacrifice in the name of Israel and of Israel’s God.

You will say, cynically, that if this is so, if this ideal of “mission” as emphasized by reform, is our greatest hope, then our circumstances are indeed most parlous. That be as it may.

The world bears tragic witness to the price it has paid and still is paying for its worship of the God of Nations as a national, a tribal God. Everywhere the evidence that if the world needs any one thing above all others, it needs to learn, it needs to be taught a living faith in the fatherhood of God, which shall carry with it a vitalizing appreciation of the brotherhood of man. It needs to be convinced that social justice and true brotherly love together, are the only possible foundations on whose pillars the Kingdom of God may be erected here on earth.

These ideals, the unique contributions of Prophetic Juda-

ism to the cause of humanity, are the heart and soul of that message which Israel, with faith in itself as a chosen messenger of God, has ever believed itself called upon to promulgate. They are the heart and soul of that truth, for whose promulgation reform Judaism has ever insisted that we must live today, as it has urged upon us its concept of "the mission of Israel."

Perhaps, if we who still preach it, can but find the way to convince our Jewish university students that all our urging upon them of such an ideal of the "mission of Israel" is not a mere matter of words with us, but that it pours forth out of the passionate conviction of our own inmost souls, perhaps, in the long run, our conviction will become their conviction, and our preachment and our labor will not have been in vain.

5. As we may succeed in doing this, succeed in impressing and convincing our Jewish university men and women that Israel, and with Israel, they themselves really have a true mission here on earth, so we may be certain that we will not only be helping to fill their souls with the consciousness that their Jewishness is their chief glory and not their shame. But more than that, as we fill their lives with the consciousness of a great purpose, so surely, we will also be meeting the third and last, the practical requirement of our duty to our Jewish university students.

We will not have to tell them. They themselves will know that Jewry and Judaism crucially need, and as crucially look for leadership to those men and women who have had the advantages of that larger cultural training with which their universities have blessed them. As they will know this, so also will they respond,—gladly, generously and zealously,—to give American Israel that enlightened spiritual leadership which will mean so much to it, and through it, to the cause of Judaism throughout the world.

There remains but one thing more for me to do, and then, at least to the best of my limited ability to do so, the requirements of the subject will have been met. There still remains the necessity to make some suggestion of the personnel wherewith, and the machinery whereby, we may hope to put into practical effect such theories as these which I have just advanced, or any

similar theories on which we may agree, as to what is required of us in meeting the needs of the present generation of Jewish students at our American universities.

Here, first of all, it may and it must be insisted upon that, as in the past it has ever been the rabbis of America, and especially the members of this Conference who have been the pioneers and leaders, who have carried the brunt of the burden of the actual work, so also in the future, it will always continue to be necessary for them to hold themselves responsible for a very large portion of these activities.

But, carrying this load of student work in addition to their multitudinous other responsibilities, with all best of intentions on their part, and as they themselves insist, these rabbis can not hope to meet, let alone to satisfy, the social, intellectual and religious needs of our ever-increasing host of Jewish university students.

And so, if the work is worth while doing at all, and if the Jewish community of America is to demonstrate to itself as well as to its Jewish students that it is really seriously interested, then in order to do the work in the way in which it should be done, we will need not one, but a small army of student-rabbis, student-secretaries, student-workers, men and women, specialists, who will devote their entire time to these activities.

In my questionnaire, my fifth question inquired:

“What, in your opinion are the things that the rabbi, the congregation and the Jewish community as a whole ought to be doing, which are not being done now, or are not being done as they should be done, to meet the spiritual, intellectual and “Jewish” needs generally of the Jewish university student?

It was most impressive to read how, in answer to this question, colleague after colleague had this one suggestion to emphasize above all else he had to suggest. As one answer put it, so the many others said in substance:

“The problem of the Jewish university student will be solved only when we are able to send them men who will

give their entire time to the organization of student congregations and to spiritual leadership in their midst. The U. A. H. C. should have a staff of men whose sole business it should be to visit universities, organize congregations and act as student advisers. In the very large universities there should be resident paid workers.

Men who have had a great deal of experience, are strongly of the opinion that special Jewish student congregations should never be organized in universities situated in communities where local congregations exist. Others emphasize our need to exercise all precaution in the development of our religious work for our Jewish students so that nothing should be done by us which would help in any way to foster those religious prejudices which were already too strong upon the average campus. Along another line, it is also suggested that if our Jewish university students could have the benefit of even occasional visits and talks from Jewish business-men, who had a deep love for Judaism as well as a reputation for business success, that this, too, would do much to help awaken a deeper interest in Judaism among our students.

But all these things, important as they are, are but incidental to the main point and emphasis, that for the adequate and satisfactory pursuit of our work for and among Jewish university students, our most urgent need is for a large group of men and women, who as resident or visiting workers on the campus, placing their major emphasis on religious work, should devote their entire time to student work of every possible and necessary kind and character.

Of course, as my colleagues also did not fail to note, we must be careful that the men and women whom we put in charge of these activities, are of the right character and calibre, of the right personality, sympathy and understanding as well as of the proper culture and education. Otherwise, their work might do our cause, and our students, more harm than good.

At every university, for which a local Jewish community does not offer the necessary facilities, we must have the physi-

cal equipment, of buildings, the chapels and the religious-social centers, in which to carry on our Jewish student activities.

As I recently heard the Chancellor of the Menorah Association suggest, we also need to provide the literature, the textbooks, source-books, syllabi and like material, of such character as to hold the interest of university men and women when once we have attracted them to the study of Jewish history and literature.

Mr. Hurwitz also spoke of the effort being made by his organization, to induce university faculties to include the study of Jewish history and literature in their courses, exactly in the way that the study of Greek and Roman history and literature are now included. There is no doubt that if this is done, it will help materially toward convincing our Jewish university students that a study and knowledge of their own Jewish culture are well worth their while.

Perhaps before any of these things are done, it would be most important to make as exact and complete a census as possible of the actual numbers of Jewish students at our universities, and an equally thorough survey of the activities now being carried on for and also by the students.

Finally and lastly, we come to that most important and not least puzzling question of where we are to find or get the funds which all these things will require. And that, among other things, involves the almost larger question of the organization, or combination of organizations, to which the task of raising and then of distributing this money, shall be entrusted.

Mr. Jacob Billikopf has recently made the very interesting suggestion that we take The American Jewish Relief Committee, as soon as it has completed its present task, and utilize its well-established organization first of all, for the purpose of educating the Jewish community in America to the importance of Jewish educational work of every character, and then, after that, or at the same time, for the work of raising the large sums of money which this educational work requires.

As far as I can judge, I am afraid that Mr. Billikopf's plan is not feasible. But, confining our attention to the interest immediately at hand, there is no question that we do need and

must have just such an organization as he suggests, which shall first of all, educate the American Jewish public to the vital importance of our work for Jewish students at our universities; which shall then raise the half million dollars, and more, that could and should be used annually in carrying on the work; and which, last but not least, shall in some way, still to be determined, co-ordinate, unify and develop the activities of all our agencies now interested in the field.

As I surely need not remind the members of this body, it is our own Conference which has recognized and appreciated the need for something of this character for some years. It has to its credit two earnest efforts to induce the Board of Managers of The Department of Synagog and School Extension to join with it in the appointment of a Commission which, primarily to be charged with the responsibility of directing, developing and raising the funds required for the work now carried on independently by the two organizations, was also intended to interest itself in the larger plan just indicated to whatever extent this might prove possible.

In both instances these efforts failed of accomplishment. But in neither instance can the responsibility for the failure be laid at the door of our Conference.

Recently, however, two meetings were held in New York City, under the auspices of the New York State Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, a subsidiary of the National Federation, which had for their purpose the consideration of this very necessity for, and the possibility of working out a definite plan of co-operation between all the national organizations interested in religious welfare work for Jewish university students.

At the second of these two meetings, the following resolution was adopted:

“Resolved that the representatives of the various national, state and local organizations interested in religious welfare among Jewish university students recommend to their respective national organizations the calling of a conference of officially delegated representatives for the purpose of forming a National Committee on Jewish University Student Welfare.”

Two weeks ago, when the Chancellor of The Intercollegiate Menorah Association visited Des Moines, for the purpose of interesting the local Jewish community in the support of that splendid program of activity which his Association is in process of developing, he made mention of a plan, still in embryo, but with regard to which he was then already in consultation with the Chairman of our Conference Committee on Religious Work in Universities, for the calling of a conference similar to that proposed by the resolution which I have just read.

Under these circumstances, it will perhaps be important that some one make sure that with two efforts being made at one and the same time, to interest our national organizations in the possibilities of larger co-operation, that there shall not arise that very lack of co-operation among those who are interested in bringing this about, which will destroy all chance for the success of their efforts.

I would urge this upon the attention of the Conference and trust that it may be our own Committee on Religious Work in Universities which will be able to suggest the way in which all concerned may unite in issuing perhaps a common call for the conference which it is desired, and which it is important, should be held.

Just how some central organization, or committee, can and should be constituted, what its functions and powers should be, and how it shall pursue its work, are all matters which we may leave for the consideration of the representatives of our several national bodies when they get to these points.

But it is essential, if our student welfare work is to be made as effective and as large as it should be, that we do work out the plan which will permit of the fullest co-operation of the several most important organizations, so that each may do more effective work in its own part of the field, and all together may make certain that no portion of the work is overlooked or neglected.

I am confident that any effort to accomplish these objects must, and will have the heartiest support of this body. And therefore, I would make the following definite recommendations and trust that they may meet with your approval:

1. That this Conference go on record as favoring the holding of such meeting as is proposed, for the purpose of considering the possibilities of closer co-operation between all organizations interested in the social, intellectual and religious welfare of Jewish students at our Universities.

2. That without committing this Conference to any plan that may be proposed, this Conference authorize its Committee on Religious Work in Universities to join in a call for such a meeting in the name of our Conference.

3. That the Executive Board be authorized to appoint the necessary representatives to represent our Conference at such meeting if and when held, preferably from the membership of our Committee on Religious Work in Universities.

In conclusion, let me say but this one word more. Pages previously, I made mention of the difficulty if not the impossibility of winning the allegiance of our Jewish university students for Judaism, until their parents and elders should set them a more proper example.

Here let me reverse this thought, to suggest that it might be just as truly urged that until we have won the allegiance of our college men and women, we never will make progress.

If we can but fill them again with the consciousness of a living God and the consciousness of a great mission, if we can but send them back to their communities truly Jewish in spirit, Jewish in their sympathies and in their loyalties—then surely they will be the instruments, through whom we may hope to re-Judaize the life of our homes, of our congregations and of our entire communities.

Such I feel is the ultimate hope and purpose of this work that we are called upon to do for the religious nurture of the Jewish students at our American colleges and universities. As we labor on in this spirit, so may the happy realization of this purpose be the final reward and fruition of our efforts!

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Morgenstern: This paper, the report of the Committee and this convention of the Conference mark, perhaps, a turning point in our method of handling this very difficult and very important problem of the Jewish university student. We have been working at it for a great many years; and the consensus of opinion, as voiced in the reports presented from year to year and as reflected also in the answers to the questionnaire sent out, seems to be that we have not accomplished very much.

This is not at all surprising when you consider the character of the problem. We must bear in mind that the American university student is a very peculiar creature, with his own distinctive psychology, his own distinctive code of ethics, his own ideas of religion, his own interpretation of life, and many things like that. Probably the only person who can minister successfully to the American university student is one who speaks his own language, lives in his own world, thinks his own thoughts or at least has a profound sympathy with them, even though he may have advanced to a higher level.

Now for the most part our past work with the Jewish students of the university has been done by rabbis living in the cities in which the universities are situated or nearby, men who gave and gave gladly and willingly of their spare time to carry on this very important work. But we must bear in mind, that with the best of will on the part of these rabbis, their spare time is necessarily very limited, all too little to cope with the magnitude of the problem. Perhaps, to a certain extent, these rabbis had outgrown the psychology of the Jewish university student; they no longer thought in the same terms, nor appreciated the ideals and the aspirations of the university student. Perhaps, looking at it from another standpoint, the university student had outgrown the rabbi, had advanced to an intellectual philosophy which differed somewhat from that which the rabbi had acquired in the days when he, perhaps, was a university student, and which constitute today the basis of his philosophy of life and Judaism.

In other words, this paper and the report, too, I believe, em-

phasize the necessity of having trained workers to carry on this work, just as is done by most denominations.

The matter is so apparent that we hardly need discuss it; we must have our own men and women who will give themselves wholly and entirely to the work of ministering to the Jewish university student.

I believe a tremendous step forward has been taken in the appointment of one man who consecrates himself to this work. I am happy that he is here today. Rabbi Benjamin Frankel will carry on this work at the University of Illinois. I am quite sure that the experience that will come to him, and through him to us, with the passing years will help greatly to solve this problem. But let us realize this fact, gentlemen; Frankel can't do it all and the rabbis in the various pulpits can't do it all. We need him; we need twenty, thirty, a hundred—and where are they coming from?

We need men in the Hebrew Union College to be trained there. We need not only many more rabbis for the pulpits that are open at this time, (I have received this year applications from over forty congregations for the services of rabbis whom we could not supply); we need many more men in the College training for the rabbinate; we need many more men in the College training for this specialized work and for other forms of specialized work. Where are we to get them?

I want to say to you, and say it as directly as possible: That is your problem. The greatest service that you can render in the solution of the problem of the Jewish university student is to so inspire young people in your congregations that they will want to consecrate themselves to this work. If you do that, you will be helping in the solution of this problem far more than by all the personal ministrations that you can give, because you have your own problems in your community that claim all your own time and effort. What is more, if you get to work at this task at once, then within the next five or six years we will have quite a considerable body of trained university workers. We have been wrestling with this problem, we are told, for twenty years or so and we haven't accomplished very much. Now if we had faced this phase of the problem twenty years ago, and had set ourselves to the task of so influencing young people in our congregations, and their parents

too, that they would think that this work is worth while, we would be far along in the solution of this problem today. That is our task, gentlemen; that is your task. Carry on the other work too, but do not lose sight of this.

When I looked over the list of students in the Hebrew Union College this past year and asked myself, "Which rabbis were instrumental in sending the majority of these students to us?" I find comparatively few. You have no idea how many rabbis there are who have been out of the College a good many years, who have never sent us a single student. I have the personal feeling (I may be wrong) that that rabbi who cannot awaken in the heart and soul of some young man who comes under his influence the feeling that his work is worth while and the desire to carry on the work of the man who has inspired him, is lacking in faith in his profession, faith in the value of his work, in a certain sense of consecration. I therefore believe that our first duty is for this body of rabbis to raise enough disciples to carry on the work in all the many aspects presented to us.

Rabbi Weiss: We do not approach the student as we might under conditions that are modern, that is from the artistic standpoint. Let me explain what I mean. The revised Haggadah was a source of keenest delight to every one who possesses one and the children and the young folks actually revelled in it because it was a thing of beauty. We should have books of such a nature that we can hand them to the university boy and say, "It is a handy little volume full of substance for you in matters Jewish. Take it with you and peruse it."

I chanced to have some boys who are college students and they are only too happy if they can be given portable, small-sized books which they can peruse on the subways and going from point to point. You will say it is a small thing. So it is, but it is an important one.

You have to crystallize a sentiment for everything and we haven't accessible literature in such form that our university boys can handle it and actually look into it. I will challenge you to show me anything you have of that nature.

I make that motion with reference to the Jewish Publication Society.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, discussion was limited to five minutes.

Rabbi Rosenau: The paper which was read this afternoon has been the source of intense pleasure to all of us. I am not underestimating the paper when I say that there are many points in it which call for discussion. At the present time, of course, the university problem looms large upon the horizon. Perhaps it will loom larger from year to year. When we discuss what is needed for the university student, I am afraid that we are dividing Israel into various groups and if there is anything that we have to do in order to arouse the Jewishness or the religiousness of university students, will it not be perfectly proper in the course of time for some committee to be appointed here that shall take care of the particular kind of influences that should be exerted in order to religionize and Judaize also other groups?

I refer particularly to the industrial group, for we know full well that if there is any body of men that seems at the present time outside of the synagogue and outside of Jewish thinking and Jewish acting, as we in the synagogue interpret it, it is the industrial group.

If you are going to legislate for Jewish students, the time will come when we will have to legislate for Jewish workers. What is it that we are doing at the present time with these university students? I am afraid we are imitating one particular wing of Christianity. We are attempting to adopt machinery similar to that which is adopted by the Protestant Church. Do you find in universities any scheme of religious education or sectarian education instituted by the Catholic Church for the benefit of Catholic students? I am connected with some universities, of which I have knowledge, and I do not know of any particular agency that has been called into operation by the Catholics for Catholic students. But I believe that before we endeavor to religionize the Jewish students at universities and colleges, it would be well for us to make the appeal to the homes from which these students come, in order that they may bring into the universities and colleges a certain amount of Jewish self-respect and Jewish appreciation which is sorely lacking.

I believe the question before us now is this: Shall we go into the conference proposed by Chancellor Hurwitz of the Menorah Society? I think we should accept the invitation with certain provisions that we make, namely, that we do not bind ourselves within universities to work in any other way except strictly religious influence.

Rabbi Solomon Foster: As I listened to the fine paper and interesting report the thought contained in the verse of scripture came to mind—"Why do you complain so much? Tell the children of Israel to go forward." We do not need so much theorizing over this subject. The Jewish boys and girls in the universities are like the men and women outside the universities. I have had considerable experience with two universities near my home town. I have gone frequently to Princeton University and to Rutgers College and I find that the Jewish boys and girls there for the most part are ready to come to the services. They are just as responsive as the people outside, but we must go there and dig deep and we will find, for the most part, that if we sink a shaft we will get plenty of oil and if we dig into the mind, we will find pure gold. There are exceptions, but I think we need to work and work and then when we feel we are getting tired, work more.

The other point that I want to make is one of criticism of both the report and the paper and it is this: I think some of the gentlemen did an injustice to our Jewish students as a whole, because there was the implication, I think the direct statement was made, that our Jewish boys in the universities are different from other students and therefore there is some justification for the criticisms made against them.

Now Jewish boys and girls are not perfect. We know very well that they need training along all lines, but we must handle their problem from an encouraging standpoint. Our Jewish boys and girls in universities are just as cultured if not more so than others. We don't need to raise this question at all. It certainly will arouse the resentment and the opposition of the Jewish students themselves when they read, if perchance they will, statements that go out with the endorsement of an organization like

this which might be interpreted as a reflection on the Jewish student.

Rabbi Simon: I think three points have been brought out thus far in the discussion. The first is that we unite with all other national organizations in the problem of Jewish education. I do not believe the problem is distinct. We agree to join with all national organizations in our country in developing and promoting a scheme in forming some kind of mechanism whereby we shall reach all the Jewish young men and women and the Jewish boys and girls in our country. I think the problem is bigger than that of the Jewish university student.

The second point I want to bring out is this: You ask for the means. Remember that there are other men who are thinking along these lines. At a meeting two months ago held in honor of Dr. Berkowitz of the Jewish Chautauqua, Mr. Louis Marshall made this pronouncement. He intended to devote the rest of the years of his life to securing a sum of \$10,000,000 to be devoted to Jewish education in the United States. I think here lies our opportunity.

If we can get behind Mr. Marshall's proposition and say, "We join with you in starting a campaign throughout this country for the raising of ten million dollars for Jewish education in which Jewish and Orthodox communities shall join," I believe it will be possible with that fund put in the hands of a national body to meet not only the needs of the Jewish university student but all other schemes of Jewish education, because Mr. Marshall had in mind a half million dollars to be divided among Orthodox and Reform, among the New York Theological Seminary as well as the Hebrew Union College.

Now the third point that Dr. Morgenstern brought out is an appeal to the rabbis to train rabbis. The point I wish to bring out is a far more important one than that. I have this custom and I believe it is one all should cultivate. I know the Jewish boys and girls who leave my city to go to universities and whenever I have the chance I give a parting word to every Jewish boy and girl who goes to a university away from home. I give them advice and I

also charge them, as it were, with a new confirmation, and I ask these Jewish boys and girls when away from home to write me at least one letter and to remain loyal to certain ideals that I want them to stand for. I find that it has a very wholesome effect. That is the fourth proposition.

And now a fifth, and I think it is a practical suggestion. We are going at all our national work in a very inefficient, haphazard way. We have never estimated the amount of money that we Jews in the country, in the large, actually need. We ought to have a National Jewish Budget Committee, outside of our own local congregation's needs. We ought to have a body of a dozen representative Jews who should say, "The National Denver Hospital needs \$50,000 a year; the Union of American Hebrew Congregations ought to have \$300,000 a year; the Jewish Chautauqua Society should have so much." I believe we would thereby have a far more efficient organization in our financial as well as intellectual work and in that way we will be able to meet our Jewish student problem in a practical way.

Rabbi Zepin: One thing touched upon by the writer of the paper was the present college influence on the students. That has been touched upon by others. There are certain organizations that are making plans but these are all of a social character. A great many synagogues are now organizing high school departments which are intended to give the students a taste for the things that we would like to teach them when they get to be of age. All these things may help in that direction.

Somewhere in the paper the writer actually questioned as to whether we have a message to give to these men; as to whether the message we have to give these men appeals to them. I doubt whether that need trouble us.

The two things that Rabbi Mannheimer pointed out that we ought to carefully consider are these: The absence of literature and the absence of man power. We haven't the books to put into the hands of men of university caliber and then we have not enough men to send to them, and after all it is the personal contact between the men and students that will really bring about the results.

In the face of those two difficulties we are asked to join with a number of other societies in a conference to devise ways and means of solving the problem. Can any sort of conference produce this literature and can you by any sort of conference produce these men overnight? I doubt the efficacy of all these conferences because you can't do the two things you need.

I want to point out something else. For this work we need men from the Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College, because after all, though there are a great many men who have done fine work, we need the men with the theological training.

Now in view of these things, I question what results you will attain. If you haven't the literature and the men to employ, is it not the most dangerous thing in the world? You are deceiving yourselves and the people whom you are going to ask.

We are trying two experiments. We have told the community to engage a rabbi and let him study the problems at first hand and see what leisure these boys have, what tastes they have, what capacities they have, and devise ways and means of bringing to them the message with which we are all acquainted.

Now they are talking of another experiment in New York with which we are connected and that is the result of a meeting that the Sisterhoods called in New York. In New York we have a State Federation of Sisterhoods and it appears that the leader thought it would be a good thing to call a meeting of a lot of people and discuss what shall be done for the Jewish students in America. They decided that they must have fraternity houses where they can eat kosher and a lot of other suggestions. Then they brought it to the National Organization with the idea that it would be a nice thing if the National Organization would work it out.

Rabbi Simon Cohen: It seems every time we have a problem we seem to feel we can meet it by calling a convention or a mass meeting or something of the sort and then we consider it settled once and for all by raising funds. I have all the respect in the world for conventions and funds, but I am old-fashioned enough to think there has got to be something of the spirit of

Judaism. There has got to be some one who knows enough to go out and struggle to overcome the problem. As Dr. Morgenstern pointed out, the person whom the student respects is the one who is right in his midst, and I think that we are wasting time in our talking about sending out paid workers and our imitation Y. M. C. A. secretaries (who are not, by the way, doing such wonderful work among our Protestant brethren as we might imagine). What we need is to develop something we have in our very midst. In every college where there are Jewish students there is at least one Jewish student, a member of the student body himself, who is vitally interested in Judaism, and while we have this elaborate program that is going to take five, ten or fifteen years to carry out, we ought to take advantage of these zealots among the student body and encourage them. In nine cases out of ten they have come from a congregation where there has been a rabbi who inspired them or where they have had a family to inspire them. I am mighty glad that Dr. Simon says that he takes an interest in those of his congregation, but I hope he doesn't stop in simply keeping them loyal. Ours is too much of a defensive attitude. We want to make them aggressively loyal. If we can only hold up the hands of those volunteer students who because of their love of Judaism are trying to do something for their fellow students, we have an instrument that cannot be equalled anywhere, and if we as rabbis can keep in touch with them we are going to be meeting this problem directly and immediately and in an efficient manner.

President Calisch: I am going to take the liberty of saying that such has been the case at the University of Virginia. One of my boys has been reading services at the University of Virginia on his own initiative.

Rabbi Barasch: After duly praising the two papers I wish to say that the report offered in solution of the great problem somewhat disturbs me. I never heard any one suggest that we conduct prayer meetings at the universities. People come to lectures but they will never come to prayer meetings.

One of the writers suggested that we modernize Judaism to

meet, as it were, the demand of the times. As far as I know, there is no such demand for the modernization of Judaism. We are living in an age which seems to be rather rampant both in politics and in religion. Papini's book on "The Life of Christ" has inspired the Christian world, but what does Papini do in his book? He adopts every absurdity in the Christian religion. We are told that unless we erase every trace of tradition, it will not appeal to the younger generation. I believe that is a wrong attitude. What we ought to do is to emphasize romanticism in religion. This idea of modernizing Judaism—well, we have reaped the results of a too modernized education.

I further believe that a real difficulty of the universities is this: namely, that our embryonic contributions are too much inspired with a missionary zeal. I, for one, wish that there were a real, deep gap between Orthodoxy and Reform. The ease with which men go over from Orthodoxy to Reform bespeaks a shallowness that is almost disgraceful.

Rabbi Franklin: There are a number of points that have been raised in the paper and in the discussion to which I should like to address myself in the time permitted, but I must be very brief because there are one or two matters that are more or less salient concerning which I must speak.

In the first place I wish to voice my appreciation of the paper but to say that I do not quite agree with the writer in his diagnosis of the attitude of the Jewish students toward religion. I am not nearly as pessimistic as he is. I believe that we meet with a readier response at the hands of the Jewish students than he seems to believe to be the case. My own experience in that regard has been rather happy. I do not mean to say that all Jewish students respond to our appeal in the fine spirit in which we should like, but I boldly make the assertion that in proportion to the total number of Jewish students at the universities, we get a much finer response from them than we do from the average Jewish community situated in the larger cities.

I believe, moreover, in response to a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Rosenau, that it is essential in a sense that we should segre-

gate the Jewish student in dealing with this matter and for this reason the Jewish student represents a particular group in this, that he is away from his home, that he is away from the ordinary religious influences that work upon the Jewish young man and the Jewish young woman who are at home, and therefore he must be specially addressed. But more than that, it is to the young man and young woman who possess university training to whom we will have to look for the lay leadership in the future; and, therefore, it is of a special importance that we should direct our efforts to that particular group. Dr. Rosenau maintains we are dividing our efforts and a little later we will have to deal with the industrial group. There is a problem presented by the industrial group, a problem that we will have to meet sooner or later, and perhaps the sooner the better. So I find no difficulty whatsoever in that.

So far as accepting the invitation extended to us by the Intercollegiate Menorah Society is concerned, I am perfectly frank to say I would much rather that that invitation had come to us from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations than any organization, but it did not and as long as the invitation has been extended by the Intercollegiate Menorah Society, and so long as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations have received a similar invitation, and so long as all other groups interested in this problem of religious education are to be similarly invited, I believe it is our bounden duty to accept that invitation, even though I do not hope for a solution of our problem from one conference, but I do believe that out of an exchange of views, out of a survey of the situation, perhaps a way may be shown by which at least a first step may be taken.

Say what you will, a few of us have tried hard and I give all due credit to the Department of Synagog and School Extension. I believe that Department has done all and perhaps more than might have been expected of it with \$1,500 at its disposal up to now, but this I do believe: that the time has come when we ought to insist that the budget authorities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations put further money at the disposal of this particular group. There is no work of greater importance

that faces the Union than this work and I agree with Dr. Morgenstern that we ought to train men for that work. Without money we cannot get the man power and I believe that much good will perhaps come out of this conference which has been proposed. If all the organizations that are interested in this work go before the country with a united voice, appealing for this money, perhaps you will get it and in larger sums than you have ever succeeded in getting it before.

One of the difficulties in our universities in dealing with the university student has been touched upon, though not quite as clearly as I would like to have had it, and that is the relation of the Orthodox student to the Reform student. That is a very real problem and I do believe that the time will come in our larger universities when there will have to be two student groups, an Orthodox group, dealt with from the standpoint of Orthodoxy and a Reform group, dealt with from the standpoint of Reform.

There is another thing—the problem of the fraternity in the university in its relation to the Jewish student congregation is a very important matter. That whole problem will have to be very carefully dealt with. There are dangers in that and I think we will have to look that squarely in the face.

Rabbi Mannheimer: The report and the recommendation in my paper are along the same lines and yet I feel that I must say a word on this whole subject before a vote is taken.

While both Rabbi Franklin's report and my paper concluded with the same recommendation, that we accept this invitation for a conference, I feel at this time that if we simply accept an invitation to a conference, we are not doing all that is required or should be done. It seems to me there are two phases to the question. On the one hand there are a dozen different organizations at work in this field. There is the Department of Synagogue and School Extension, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Intercollegiate Menorah Society and the Jewish Chautauqua Society has an interest, the Publication Society has an interest and a dozen different organizations have an interest. These organizations are invited to a conference.

Regardless of what happens in the conference, I feel the members of this Conference ought to realize the significance of the suggestion of Dr. Morgenstern that what we need above everything else in the whole field of religious and all other interests of the student is a body of men composed of rabbis and laymen who shall be a directing force in the councils of the Union and of the Department of Synagog and School Extension. We, the Union and the Conference, would do well to study the form of organization worked out by the Baptists and the Presbyterians and the others for this work. They have their commissions which are departmentalized, there is a Department on Industrial Workers, there is a Department on University Workers, there is a Department on Publications, there is a department of every sort, on which there is a governing body of from fifteen to twenty men, half of whom are ministers and the other half are laymen. They work together for the raising of the money and for the solution of these problems. The Executive Board of this Conference ought to be instructed once more—they have done it twice before and have not succeeded—yet I feel that it is most essential this time that it make another effort to convince the Union that the time has come not only in regard to the work of student welfare but in all departments that we need a new system of organization.

I hope that the Executive Board will be instructed in the spirit of that statement of Dr. Morgenstern's as to the possibility of a governing super-League of Nations, a super-council, composed of rabbis and laymen brought together for the working out of a program of activity which we most certainly need in this country today.

Rabbi Zepin: There have been a great many references to the Union and a great many statements that attempt after attempt has been made to co-operate with the Union and the Union has refused to do so. I wish to deny them in toto. We are co-operating with the Conference in the most important things that we are doing. On the Commission on Jewish Education this Conference, as a body, elects half of the membership. On the Commission on Tracts this body elects half of the membership.

Now I want to call your attention to an inspired article that appeared in "The Israelite" and was written by one of the gentlemen seated in this body. That article was published about a month before the meeting in New York and it advised that the Conference and the Union had so many things in common that once every two years they ought to have a joint meeting. We have been most anxious to bring this about.

And now one word as to why co-operation has failed. It failed because of no unwillingness on the part of the Union or of the Conference but because the two personalities, the one in the committee and the one at the head of the Union's work, clashed on things they could not see in the same light. I do not say it was Rabbi Franklin's fault or it was mine, but we could not see the thing in the same way. He wanted things we did not want to give, but we were perfectly willing to co-operate on the things we agreed upon. It was a case of disrupting a form of organization with a number of supervisors in various parts of the United States and four years ago the supervisors were very active. I confess that many of them have not done a thing in the four years since then, but at that time the supervisors were very active and we did not want to displace them.

I have this suggestion instead of the one you accepted: Call a meeting of the bodies that belong together; call a meeting of the Conference representatives, and the Union representatives; if you think that the Publication Society belongs there and that your Commission on Jewish Education can not publish what you want, call them too. You can make a list of those that belong, but I think you are making a great mistake if you go into a conference with the representatives of the fraternities with whom we are altogether out of sympathy. You do not have to be called into a conference by the Menorah or any other organization that does not compare with this in size.

Rabbi Ettelson: If we want to get a group conference of those who are more nearly allied preliminary to the general conference so that we can come in with a definite program what is to prevent our doing that, but for us to say, offhand, there is nothing in common seems to me to show a narrow spirit which is ill-becoming to the Conference.

F

THE SOCIAL CREEDS OF THE CHURCHES—A
COMPARATIVE STUDY

ABRAHAM CRONBACH

At the end of this paper will be found the list of the forty-two social "creeds" of the churches that we propose to study.¹ Seventeen different denominations are directly or indirectly represented.² These comprise the Baptist, the Catholic, the Congregational, the Christian, the Dunkard, the Episcopalian, the Evangelical, the Ethical Culture, the United Brethren, the Reformed, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Seventh Day Baptist, the Unitarian, the Universalist, as well as our own. It has, however, not been easy to decide just what type of expression the word "creed," in this connection, shall designate. In order to gain some indispensable scope and, at the same time, to set some indispensable limits, we must lay down these three requirements:

1. A creed must have some authoritative, official approval. Thus the excellent report of our own Conference Committee on Synagog and Industrial Relations at Detroit, in 1914, may not be regarded as a creed, it having failed of acceptance.³
2. A creed must be specific. Thus general reflections upon the connection between piety and humanitarianism may constitute excellent sermons⁴ but do not meet this requirement which we must attach to the word "creed."⁵
3. A creed must enunciate convictions. An account, even a glowing account of past and contemporary endeavors may be a history or a commentary but is not a creed.⁶

As we read through these forty-two creeds, we are impressed by the large diversity of subjects broached. A list of these sub-

jects will be found at the end of this paper.¹ The list contains eighty-five topics. This number is, of course, not absolute. The number would be much larger were we to enumerate the several aspects in which many of these topics are treated. Thus the topic "Women's Work" would embrace the following nine sub-topics:

"Eight Hour Day," "Living Wage," "Physical Health," "Moral Health," "Voice in Industry," "Exemption from Heavy Work," "Exclusion from Industry," "Endowment of Motherhood." Or the topic "Child Labor" would divide into the sub-topics: "Federal *versus* State Legislation," "the First Federal Child Labor Act," "the Second Federal Child Labor Act," "Raising the Age Limit." On the other hand, many of the eighty-five topics can be combined under one caption as, "Living Wage," "Saving Wage," "Paramount Wage," into one heading "Wages"; or "Unemployment Bureaus," "Scheduling of Public Works," "Unemployment Insurance," "Regularization of Industry," "Farms for the Unemployed," etc., into the caption "Unemployment," and these larger captions may, combined with other summations of their type, be farther dissolved into one final caption, "Industry."

This is what we shall in fact do with our eighty-five or more topics handled in our forty-two or more creeds of seventeen or more denominations. Eleven large and indissoluble themes stand out. These are:

- I Industry.
- II Social Insurance.
- III Community Health.
- IV Schooling.
- V The Subnormal.
- VI Economic Proposals.
- VII Social Groups.
- VIII International Issues.
- IX Ethical Postulates and Purposes.
- X Theological Postulates.
- XI The Church and Its Duties.²

I. INDUSTRY

The theme, Industry, we shall consider under the following four divisions:

1. Hours of Labor.
2. Income.
3. Industry and Health.
4. Industrial Democracy.

The caption, Hours of Labor, bears farther sub-division into

- (a) Daily Leisure,
- (b) A Weekly Day of Rest.

(a) The desirability of some daily leisure for the worker is affirmed by nearly all of the creeds.¹ "Such a margin of leisure as will permit reasonable recreation and the development of mind and spirit," is the way the Anglican Archbishops express it.² Pope Leo asks that the worker have leisure for the observance of religion.³ "Leisure for . . . their families and the community" is the concern of the Canadian Presbyterians; "leisure for physical, mental and moral well-being" is the language of the American Presbyterians⁴ "That degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life," says the Federal Council in the latest version of its social ideals.⁵ Correspondingly, the Federal Council statement of 1908 asks that hours be reduced "to the lowest practicable point";⁶ while the Unitarians wish "a gradual and reasonable reduction".⁷ The Anglican Archbishops would invoke the British Trade Board Act of 1909 to limit working hours in the unorganized trades.⁸ While the Federal Council mentions the eight hour day as a *desideratum* for women,⁹ our own Conference aspires that the eight hour day become a maximum for all workers.¹⁰

(b) Similarly extensive is the demand for one day of rest in seven.¹¹ Sunday is naturally mentioned with preference by the churches with whom the day is sacred as "Lord's Day" while our own Conference, having the Jewish Sabbath in mind, would have

all workers "assured the right of observing their Sabbath in accordance with their religious convictions."¹ The American Presbyterians are solicitous that the pay for six days shall suffice for the needs of seven days.² This group thinks of health³ while the Baptists think of citizenship and family duties as dependent upon the weekly rest day.⁴ The Anglican Archbishops while not demanding the entire cessation of industry on Sunday ask none the less that "Sunday Labor be reduced to a minimum."⁵

(2) What we have to observe under the heading "Income" we shall subsume under :

- A. Wages.
- B. Profit Sharing.
- C. Unemployment.

A. Affirmations concerning wages fall into three classes :

- (a) Those asserting the necessity of a living wage.
- (b) Those asserting the right to more than a living wage.
- (c) Those asserting that wages should be the first charge on industry.

(a) On the desirability of a minimum wage virtually all of the creeds agree.⁶ A number of them state that it should be a legal minimum enforced by law where necessary.⁷ The Catholics speak of a family wage⁸ in which the Anglican Archbishops espousing the idea of a wage sufficing for a man "to maintain himself and his family in health and honor" obviously concur;⁹ similarly the Quaker employers, who would, without any legal compulsion, pay "to a man of average industry and capacity" a wage that "should at least enable him to marry, to live in a decent home, and to provide the necessities of physical efficiency for a normal family".¹⁰ Pope Leo affirms explicitly that when it comes to wages, the law of supply and demand must recede,¹¹ a living wage being itself as he sees it, a requirement of natural law.¹² The American Presbyterians recall how commonly low wages are the essential cause of poverty.¹³ One of the Federal Council publications would have wages vary in accordance with the cost of living.¹⁴

(b) A good deal in the various creeds, however, asserts the unsatisfactoriness of a mere minimum wage. A bare subsis-

tence, according to the Lambeth Conference, is not enough.¹ The Quaker employers agree to pay both to men and to women a "margin for recreation and contingencies".² Also the "Bishops' Program" of the Catholics endorses a minimum wage both for male and for female workers only alongside of the proposal that those wages be gradually raised for saving and contingencies.³ Indeed, the Bishops emphatically prefer the saving wage to social insurance which they are somewhat inclined to disparage as being communistic and paternalistic.⁴ The American Methodists are convinced that the *desideratum* is "an abundant life" not "a bare living".⁵ "An American standard of living" is a requirement upon which both the Federal Council and the Catholic Church agree.⁶ The Federal Council also wishes the worker to have an income sufficient for home building,⁷ while a Catholic document speaks of a family living wage as fixed by the War Labor Board.⁸ Perhaps the Church of the Brethren is of the same mind when it asks for the laborer "just wages".⁹ The Catholic Bishops endorse a minimum wage both for male and for female workers only alongside of the proposal that those wages "be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well". The Catholic Bishops hold that Capital as well as Labor benefits by a liberal wage.¹⁰ Hence, wages should not be reduced even though prices fall—a proposition seconded both by the Federal Council and by the Conference of Rabbis.¹¹ In harmony with this, the Unitarians as well as the Federal Council ask for the worker "the highest wage that each industry can afford".¹² So convinced is the Federal Council that a high wage is desirable that it would require the derelict employer to open his books and prove that he can not afford it.¹³

When our Conference asked in 1918 that there be "a more equitable distribution of the products of industry"¹⁴ it uttered a sentiment concordant with those of various Protestant denominations. The American Presbyterians, the Quakers, the Unitarians, and the Canadian Presbyterians, all ask for "an equitable division" of wealth.¹⁵ The Canadian Methodists wish legislation assuring a fair wage to labor and a fair profit to business.¹⁶ Similarly is "a distribution just to all parties" asked by various Baptist creeds and by the Federal Council.¹⁷ While this has implications pertinent to such topics as co-partnership, profit sharing, cost of living, etc., to be discussed presently, the bearing upon the subject of wages is no less obvious.

(c) This equitable wage, according to the Methodist Bishops, should have right of way over rent, interest and profits.¹ Also the Lambeth Conference is of the opinion that wages should come before interest and should be the first charge on industry.² The Pope's Encyclical voices the same view³ while the Baptists brand industries that default in this regard as parasitic.⁴ "We believe," say the Quaker employers, "that the payment of such a wage should be regarded by employers as a necessary business liability. Till that is discharged, they should very carefully limit their own remuneration for their services nor should they pay larger dividends on borrowed capital than is essential to secure an adequate supply".⁵ The Federal Council pamphlet on the "Church and Social Reconstruction" refers to this attitude of the Quakers with unqualified approval.⁶ The Canadian Methodists affirm that it is "unchristian to accept profits when laborers do not receive a living wage".⁷

B. Profit Sharing. Experiments in profit sharing are commended by the Federal Council,⁸ by the Baptists and by the Methodist Bishops⁹ but chiefly by the Catholics.¹⁰ "Co-partnership" is the word also employed in one of the Catholic documents.¹¹ The British Quakers likewise may have had profit sharing in mind when they suggest apropos the unemployment which often results from the introduction of new machinery that "some other method should be found of issuing purchasing power than that solely of a wage or salary for the work done".¹²

C. Unemployment is an evil upon which the creeds of all denominations animadvert.¹⁴ "The right to work",¹⁵ "the right of self-maintenance"¹⁶ are phrases that occur frequently. "Insecurity among the workers" is among the things deplored by the Anglican Archbishops¹⁷ while the Federal Council of our own country ponders particularly the baneful effects of unemployment upon the workers' plan for home owning.¹⁸ By the attention which unemployment receives in the utterances of our own Conference¹⁹ it is evident that we are entirely of one mind with these various bodies as well as with the Unitarians who declare that the "worker must be protected from the hardships of swift change".²⁰

Various expedients against unemployment receive mention in the various creeds:

(a) Jews, Baptists, Quakers, Catholics and Federal Council agree in the advocacy of employment bureaus¹ some of them specifying government management of such bureaus.²

(b) The same unity of sentiment obtains on the proposal of relieving unemployment by the scheduling of public works in accordance with employment conditions.³ Curtailing unemployment by seasonable purchases and wise planning is the essence of the formula with which the Ethical Culturists enter here.⁴

(c) Unemployment insurance or at least research into the feasibility of various insurance plans receives a similarly wide endorsement.⁵ Some regard such insurance as a legitimate government venture.⁶ The Ethical Culturists speak of a "joint council" for the administration of such insurance⁷ while the Quaker employers, willing here as always to shoulder burdens privately, resolve that "a portion of any extra profits arising from labor saving improvements might be placed to a special reserve fund to compensate workers who may be displaced and can not be absorbed or placed elsewhere".⁸ Another group of Quakers puts it thus: "The worker should be supported even when there is no work for him".⁹

(d) A farther expedient is the regularization of industry by proper planning on the part of those in charge. "The deliberate casualisation of labor merely for the convenience of the employers is strongly to be condemned" say the Anglican Archbishops¹⁰ who hold that "it is the duty of employers of workers and of the state to aim at substituting regular employment and wages". Concordantly the Quaker employers profess it "the duty of employers to do their utmost to abolish casual labor and to render employment as regular as possible".¹¹ The Ethical Culturists speak of "a planning board"¹² and the Federal Council of "stabilisation".¹³

(e) Miscellaneous proposals for dealing with unemployment are: Dismissal only as a last resort,¹⁴ relief,¹⁵ workshops,¹⁶ "artificial" work,¹⁷ absorbing displaced workers into other departments,¹⁸ the encouragement of agriculture especially for ex-service men and if necessary with government loans,¹⁹ and government care of industrial cripples.²⁰

3. What we have said under the rubric, Industry and Health, admits of these sub-divisions:

- (a) Industrial Hygiene and Safety.
- (b) Women in Industry.
- (c) Child Labor.

(a) Jews, Catholics, Presbyterians, Ethical Culturists, Unitarians, Quakers, Congregationalists and other followings¹ express themselves as concerned about the hygiene and safety provisions surrounding the worker. Despite their suspicions of state interference, the Catholics, speaking through their "Bishops' Program," ask for legislation toward this end especially desiring that existing statutes be strengthened and better enforced.² The Quaker employers, here again nobly shouldering their burden, affirm that "workers should be safeguarded against undue strain";³ and that "unwise methods of stimulating workers to do their utmost" should be discountenanced. "Employers," say these Quaker business men "should surround their workers with a material environment at work such as they would desire for themselves and for their children. . . . This will mean that washrooms are properly ventilated and kept at suitable temperatures, that they are adequately lit and that due regard is paid to cleanliness. Facilities should be given them for spending the dinner hour under restful and comfortable conditions as well as for obtaining food at reasonable rates".⁴ When the Congregationalists remind us of the relation of wages and health⁵ and the Presbyterians of the relation of hours of labor to "physical, mental, and moral" health⁶ we perceive the applicability in this connection of those points already considered.⁷

(b) Concerning women, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" is explicitly affirmed by Catholics, Baptists, Quakers, and various of the interdenominational groups.⁸ A living wage for women, a voice for women in industrial management as well as due appreciation of the part taken by women in war work are among the views advanced.⁹ The Quaker employers also hold "equal pay for equal work" with the farther affirmation that in work peculiarly female "the basic wage for a woman of average industry and capacity should be the sum necessary to maintain her in a decent dwelling, in a state of full physical efficiency and to

allow a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation".¹ Very few are the creeds that fail to advocate special protective measures for women seeking to safeguard their physical and moral health.² The Federal Council creed would prohibit all night work for women³ and like the Pennsylvania Church Federation Creed, would limit the working day of woman to eight hours.⁴ The Catholics would exclude women from work on locomotives, street cars, etc., now that the war exigency has abated.⁵ A British statement expressing ten denominations including Catholics has, finally, this striking suggestion:

"We may add that the duties of motherhood are of so great importance to the state as well as to the individual, and the danger of indiscriminately drawing mothers into the industrial system is so serious that the whole question of the industrial employment of women and what has been termed 'the endowment of motherhood' requires a new consideration".⁶

(c) Child labor is objectionable to every denomination without exception. Our own creed particularly stresses the relation of child labor to health and urges a progressive raising of the age limit.⁷ The Anglican Archbishops specify fifteen years as the limit to be demanded for the present, with a view to making it sixteen years ultimately together with continuation school provisions up to the age of eighteen.⁸ The British Friends call to mind the connection between child labor and unemployment⁹ while the American Catholic Bishops¹⁰ mention the first federal child labor law which had already been declared unconstitutional and commend the second federal child labor law which has since been declared unconstitutional. The present movement to secure constitutional latitude for child labor legislation by congress will probably be reflected in the pronouncements of the near future. Our Conference creed as well as one of the Baptist creeds asks for action by the separate states.¹¹

4. Our fourth and last point under the general head "Industry" is Industrial Democracy. Of this topic we shall make these divisions:

- A. Affirmations of the Industrial Democracy Ideal.
- B. Phases of Industrial Representation.
- C. A Labor Code.

A. The phrase "Industrial Democracy" is employed by Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Brethren, Congregationalists, Ethical Culturists and others.¹ Contrary to the impressions of the unprogressive, the Congregational creed asserts that labor craves democracy and that, compared with democracy, hours and wages are of secondary consideration.² The Methodist Bishops profess that they can not "put a limit upon the extension of democracy",³ while the fostering of industrial democracy is regarded by the Baptists as one of the explicit duties of the church.⁴

B. Phases of Industrial Representation subdivide into the following topics:

- (a) Co-operative Ownership.
- (b) Workers' Voice in Management.
- (c) Trade Unionism.
- (d) Strikes and Lockouts.
- (e) Conciliation, Mediation, Arbitration.

(a) The particular friends of the co-operative projects are the Catholics,⁵ although Baptists,⁶ Universalists⁷ and Federal Council also contribute their share of commendation.⁸

(b) On workers' management, both the Anglican Archbishops and the American Catholic Bishops quote with approval the British Quaker employers⁹ who hold that there should be consultation with the workers to decide at least such matters as "control of processes; nature of the product, engagement and dismissal of employees, hours of work, rates of pay, bonuses, etc., welfare work, shop discipline, relation with trade unions".¹⁰ Ethical Culturists,¹¹ Anglican Archbishops,¹² Quakers,¹³ Baptists,¹⁴ Congregationalists,¹⁵ Presbyterians,¹⁶ and various interdenominational groups are of the same mind.¹⁷ The Quakers wish to see the working people have "more responsibility and control of industry".¹⁸ The Catholic Bishops believe that such participation enhances efficiency.¹⁹ The Quaker employers go so far as to voice the hope that such participation "may train the workers for commercial and financial administration".²⁰ The Interchurch World Movement particularly speaks of women workers as entitled to a voice in management.²¹ The Ethical Culture statement takes pains to make clear that shop committees shall be re-

garded as a type of organization supplementary of, not antagonistic to labor unions.¹ The Methodist Bishops would have workers on the business directorates of industries.² The American Quakers see in such devices "team work in industry," while the Baptists, making an important discrimination within their combination, endorse not only collective bargaining but also mutual counsel.³

(c) Virtually all of the creeds commend trade unionism or, as it is more commonly called, collective bargaining.⁴ In 1921 our own Conference adopted a special resolution strengthening its position on this point.⁵ The Unitarians, while sympathetic with their hopes and aims, have something monitory to say about the methods and morals of trade unions⁶ while the Catholics similarly show concern that the trade unions keep within "Christian limits".⁷ The Baptists aver that unions should be fair, "seeking the whole welfare of society".⁸ Pope Leo evinces his conservatism to the extent of regarding mutual help rather than collective bargaining as the trade union's proper function.⁹ The Pope even visages in his ideal of trade unions, a force for the revival of the Catholic faith among the estranged workers.¹⁰ The Baptists relate trade unionism to the need for a personal touch between worker and employer.¹¹ The Quaker employers, on their part, believe it their duty "to promote a progressive spirit in the various trade organizations" with which they may happen to be associated¹² and suggest the desirability of "giving full information as to wages, hours, average costs, and average profits in industry as a basis for effectual collective bargaining and as a recognition of the public character of industry".

Amicable towards employers' organizations are the Ethical Culturists,¹³ the Federal Council¹⁴ and the Anglican Archbishops.¹⁵ The latter body has the following suggestive paragraph:

"It should be the normal practice in organized trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular intervals, not merely upon wages and working conditions, but upon all such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common discussion. The associations representing individual industries might be federated in a larger and more representative

body—a national industrial parliament, representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry”.¹

(d) Jews,² Baptists,³ and Quakers⁴ alike deplore strikes. The Catholics, on the other hand, while condemning sympathetic and general strikes,⁵ affirm that strikes are sometimes permissible and that they are not as cruel as lockouts and blacklists.⁶ Our Conference creed urges in this connection that the public welfare be supreme above the interests of any class.⁷

(e) Numerous are the creeds that discuss conciliation, arbitration, and mediation.⁸ The Pope regards such as a suitable task for the labor associations, that is, trade unions,⁹ although another Catholic pronouncement would allow the state to discharge this function.¹⁰ The Baptists¹¹ see at this juncture an opportunity for the church and our own Jewish pronouncement of 1916 an opportunity for the synagogue.¹² Another Baptist creed, however, commends special industrial courts and other organizations designed to secure industrial peace¹³ while the Federal Council specifies no farther than “adequate means for conciliation and arbitration”.¹⁴ Preventive measures are contemplated by Anglicans, Congregationalists, Methodists and Brethren;¹⁵ conferences of employers and workers,¹⁶ partnership between employers and workers¹⁷ permanent friendly relations and co-operation between Capital, Labor and the Public¹⁸ being respectively thought of. The American Archbishops would have disputes settled quickly, with an ultimate appeal to the industrial parliament¹⁹ “composed of representatives of all industries for inquiry, report and decision”.²⁰

C. The idea of a Labor Code or Charter is broached by the Ethical Culture Program,²¹ by two of the Baptist creeds²² and by the Chicago Church Federation.²³ The Lambeth Conference has a good word for the Labor Office of the League of Nations.²⁴ Pope Leo favors government labor boards²⁵ while his American followers favor state investigations into labor issues and the enactment of labor laws.²⁶ Reference has already been made to the legislative handling of hours, wages, and conditions of hygiene and safety.²⁷ Such laws constitute a labor code in substance although the name itself is not always used in that connection.

II. SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Supplementing the wage of the worker, social insurance is needed to meet such exigencies as sickness, accident, old age and widowhood. The matter of unemployment insurance having been considered already,¹ let us observe what the social creeds say touching insurance of other types, this being a topic of Catholic, Baptist, and Presbyterian creeds² as well as of the Jewish, Unitarian and miscellaneous groups.³

Baptists,⁴ Presbyterians,⁵ and Jews⁶ have mothers' pensions proposals, not to mention the intimation already quoted⁷ that it might be well to pension women out of industry altogether.

Old age pensions are considered by Catholics,⁸ Jews,⁹ Canadian Methodists¹⁰ and by two publications of the Federal Council.¹¹

A Presbyterian creed,¹² a Catholic creed,¹³ two of the Federal Council pronouncements¹⁴ and one of our own creeds¹⁵ favor accident insurance for the workers.

A Catholic creed,¹⁶ a Presbyterian creed¹⁷ as well as two of our own creeds record endorsement of sickness insurance.

The Presbyterian creed¹⁸ just cited mentions death among the exigencies for social insurance. The Catholic Bishops' program also mentions such but does so by way of opposing governmental life insurance, excepting in the case of soldiers and sailors.¹⁹

Like our Conference creed of 1918,²⁰ the Presbyterian creed²¹ favors compensation for accidents and occupational diseases. The Catholics also favor such compensation but are solicitous that the burden shall rest on industry.²² Legislative experts tend to hold the same view, the belief being that if industry is burdened with the costs of accident and occupational diseases, it will be spurred to adopt measures preventing accident and disease. Such, however, is not the argument of the Catholic spokesmen who proceed rather from their traditional aversion to government paternalism which, as they fear, "would tend to separate the workers into a distinct and dependent class".²³ Preference is expressed for the payment of such a wage and the practice of such thrift as will enable the worker to provide for contingencies out of his individual

savings thus approximating what the document calls "normal". Pope Leo would place social insurance among the functions of the "workers' associations".¹

III. COMMUNITY HEALTH

Having already considered the way in which health is related to hours of work, wages, industrial hygiene, child labor, women in industry, etc., we now bring together what the creeds say concerning health in other regards.

The necessity for public health safeguards is affirmed by Dunkards, Evangelicals, Catholics,² Baptists,³ Unitarians,⁴ and the Federal Council group. The Presbyterians recall that poverty is caused by preventable disease which must therefore be controlled.⁵ The Unitarian creed assails all unsanitary conditions.⁷ The Baptists make special mention of child health⁸ and of Eugenics⁹ while the Federal Council calls for provision against venereal disease.¹⁰ The Catholic Bishops endorse medical inspection in the schools¹¹ and the British interdenominational statement observes how, through ill health, the child's education is impeded.¹² The Catholics favor municipal clinics but would accord free treatment only to such as are unable to pay.¹³

The subject of housing, related, of course, to that of health, is broached by all of the denominations.¹⁴ The Lambeth Conference says:

"Almost everywhere the miserably inadequate supply of houses leads to the gravest moral difficulty and danger. The way of remedy is hard to find, but our conscience can not be easy until we have found it".¹⁵

The Anglican Archbishops believe it "the duty of state and local authorities to do town planning and to build houses where necessary".¹⁶ Our own Conference¹⁷ obviously concurs in this as well as in the British interdenominational statement that "the community has the duty of supplementing private initiative".¹⁸ The Catholic Bishops after referring to the forty million dollars spent by our Federal Government on housing in eleven cities, would prefer to have not the government but the cities do such work as private

enterprise will not undertake, while one of the Federal Council pamphlets would be satisfied with government standards and protective legislation.¹ The British Archbishops offer the pregnant suggestion that:

"In order to secure the publicity which is essential to the realization of social responsibility, the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of all persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the local authority and should be accessible to the public".²

The Baptists, like the Federal Council, wish to see the workers own their homes.³ The Baptists particularly deplore unemployment because of its effect upon home owning,⁴ and family life.⁵ These creeds offer considerable detail on the housing problem. Thus one of the Baptist folders proclaims:

"The necessity of insuring every family adequate housing at reasonable rates, encouraging home-owning by securing permanence of employment, maintaining a good building and housing code, providing speedy transit service at reasonable rates, and ending the speculative owning of land around towns and cities".⁶

The Federal Council pamphlet on Social Reconstruction makes especial mention of the relation of housing to the assimilation of the immigrant.⁷ The Quaker employers state repeatedly that they regard themselves as obligated to pay a wage that will enable the worker to "live in a decent home".⁸

Recreation is also mentioned by a large diversity of the creeds.⁹ The Quaker employers name recreation as one of the needs for which they must provide an adequate wage for their workers both male and female.¹⁰ The Federal Council thinks of recreation especially in connection with child welfare.¹¹ The Unitarians mention play grounds specifically.¹² The British Interdenominational statement conceives of wholesome recreation as an offset to the evils of betting and gambling,¹³ while the stately language of the Lambeth Conference is only heightened by a quotation from a writer on modern industry who says: "It is just the toiling drudge who needs leisure most—leisure for recreation and refreshment".¹⁴

Finally the subject of pure food and drugs is regarded as of sufficient importance to receive express mention by the Unitarians.¹⁵

IV. EDUCATION

Five different themes perceptible in the creeds fall under this caption:

- (a) Vocational Training.
- (b) Culture.
- (c) Economic Education.
- (d) Adult Education.
- (e) Managerial Education.

The last two items, while not entirely excluded by the first three, must receive separate treatment owing to the unique emphasis laid upon them. Very few are the creeds that do not ponder education in some or all of these aspects.¹

(a) Catholics,² Baptists,³ Presbyterians,⁴ Unitarians,⁵ Ethical Culturists⁶ as well as several interdenominational groups are alike the friends of vocational training. The Presbyterians hold that insufficient education is the cause of poverty,⁷ while the Unitarians, saying the same thing, speak of "misdirected" education.⁸ The Pennsylvania Church Federation is especially concerned about the education of mental defectives.⁹ The Quaker employers, have this to resolve concerning their own working forces:

"Where adolescents are employed on work which does not fit them for any adult occupation, special provision should be made either for their absorption when they reach adult age or for their training for some alternative occupation".¹⁰

There is, however, some difference of opinion between the Anglican Archbishops and the British interdenominational group. The former favor part time schools for persons between the ages of 16 and 18 while the latter pronounce the part time school a failure.¹¹ The Catholic leaders are naturally concerned that state provisions for industrial education should not be such as to weaken parochial or private schools.¹²

(b) Universal opportunity for the elements of culture over and above vocational needs is also called for by a number of creeds both Catholic and Protestant.¹³ The Federal Council asks "the fullest possible development of every child".¹⁴ The Catholic writers,

meanwhile, are concerned that the state go not too far in prescribing the type of education. On this point, they hold, the parent and not the state should rule.¹

(c) Education in economic responsibility for youths and adults with due provision in college courses, is advocated by the Interchurch World Movement,² and by the Presbyterians.³ In a later connection we shall observe what is said regarding such instruction in church circles and in theological seminaries.⁴

(d) The Universalist,⁵ the Federal Council,⁶ the Ethical Culturists,⁷ the Quakers,⁸ the Lambeth Conference,⁹ and the British Interdenominational group are among those by whom adult educational movements are approved, movements such as the British Workers' Educational Movement which the Lambeth Conference commends¹⁰ and the Whiting Williams Foundation which one of the Quaker statements endorses.¹¹

(e) Managerial education is suggested in that rare combination of the saintly and the practical, the Quaker employers' creed. These men hold that supervisors must be more than mere technicians. The workers have to be understood as well as the materials and the processes. To this end schools for the education of foremen, superintendents and managers are proposed.¹²

It would be well to conclude this entire section on education with a quotation from these Quaker manufacturers: "We welcome," they say, "the legislative proposals now being made for the improvement of the national educational system and consider that employers should put up with any inconvenience rather than hamper their achievement".¹³

V. THE SUBNORMAL

By the subnormal we mean prisoners, dependents, and mental defectives. Only a few of the creeds broach this topic, yet among those few, Catholics and Protestants as well as Jews are represented.¹⁴

The Catholics,¹⁵ the Presbyterians,¹⁶ the Unitarians,¹⁷ the Pennsylvania Church Federation,¹⁸ as well as our own Conference are advocates of prison reform.¹⁹ The Catholics would have prisoners paid a wage for the benefit of their families and of their own

future.¹ The Pennsylvania Federation and the Unitarians go into details on such points as farm work, term of imprisonment and training for better capacities.² The Baptists urge that the causes of crime be removed, putting that duty upon the state.³ Inferior to none of them is the 1918 statement of our own Conference: "Constructive care of dependents, defectives and criminals with the aim of restoring them to a normal life wherever possible".⁴

VI. ECONOMIC PROPOSALS

A considerable miscellany of subjects will have to fall under this head. The following are the immediate sub-titles:

1. Cost of Living.
2. Taxation.
3. Prohibition.
4. Industrial Research.
5. Government Reform.
6. Abolition of Poverty.
7. Capitalism.
8. Socialism.
9. Social Revolution.

1. Under the division "cost of living" the following sub-titles are requisite:

- (a) Co-operation.
- (b) Monopoly.
- (c) Profiteering.
- (d) Return of the Excess Profits to the Community.
- (e) Conservation.
- (f) Agriculture.
- (g) Land Laws.
- (h) Elevators, etc.

(a) Co-operative ownership of industry has already been discussed.⁵

In connection with the cost of living, that other form of co-operation must be considered, namely, co-operative purchasing. This is advocated in our creeds by Quakers,⁶ Catholics,⁷ Presbyterians,⁸ Baptists,⁹ Universalists,¹⁰ the Interchurch World Move-

ment,¹ the Lambeth Conference,² and the Federal Council.³ The Catholic Bishops⁴ call attention to the extent to which co-operation has already been practiced, citing the Rochdale system.⁵ The Baptists⁶ agree with the Catholics that co-operation educates the worker in saving and in team work and that these are capacities without which government action in industry must be ineffective.⁷

(b) Monopoly as a cause of extortionate prices is censured by Catholics,⁸ Baptists,⁹ Universalists,¹⁰ Unitarians,¹¹ and others,¹² including perhaps our own Conference with its rebuke of "secret agreements" in one of its statements.¹³ The Anglican Archbishops condemn "limiting the output".¹⁴ The Catholics, observing that the cost of living rose seventy-five per cent during the war, voice the opinion that the measure needed is not government regulation of prices but government curbing of monopolies,—if necessary, by means of government competition with monopolies.¹⁵ Another statement deplores that "the country's natural resources and transportation systems" are in the hands of a few.¹⁶ The Unitarians go so far as to wish government control of utilities with a view to abolishing special privileges.¹⁷ In a slight degree only do the Quaker employers differ when they suggest that a combination of firms may be needed sometimes to secure good service—with the proviso, of course, that "the consumer be protected by state action or otherwise against exploitation".¹⁸

(c) Censures of profiteering are expressed by Baptists,¹⁹ Jews,²⁰ Episcopalians,²¹ Brethren,²² Catholics,²³ Methodists²⁴ and Universalists.²⁵ The Canadian Methodists join in one sweeping condemnation, profiteering, overcapitalization, and private appropriation of unearned increment.²⁶ The Baptists locate considerable guilt in the middleman.²⁷ Disagreeing with the Catholics,²⁸ the Universalists call for government price regulation.²⁹ While protesting against profiteering the Catholic Bishops do not fail to make the proviso that men of exceptional ability be duly rewarded.³⁰ The Brethren ask simply that there be "fair prices" but the Baptists quote approvingly from the Quaker employers: "The consumer should never be exploited. The price charged him should be reasonable, having in view the average cost of

production and distribution; and the state should be asked to interfere to protect his interests when they are threatened by monopoly".¹

(d) Say the Quaker employers: "We believe that in equity the community may claim the greater part of surplus profits".² A similar thought is voiced by the Federal Council which refers approvingly to the Quaker employers,³ by the Canadian Methodists⁴ and by the Anglican Archbishops.⁵ Whether this return is to take place in the form of taxation, of reduced prices, or of donations to public causes is not made clear.

(e) Four of the creeds, namely two of the Baptist creeds, the Pennsylvania Federation creed, and the Unitarian creed urge the conservation of natural resources.⁶

(f) The Baptists would encourage agriculture as a means of increasing the food supply.⁷ We have already noticed how the Catholics associate agriculture with the relief of unemployment especially among ex-service men.⁸ The Catholics farther observe that the encouragement of agriculture will reduce the cost of living.⁹

(g) The Single Tax phraseology about "unearned increment" and "speculation in land" also confronts us occasionally.¹⁰ The Anglican Archbishops would like to have the local authorities empowered to acquire and to hold land.¹¹ They also wish rates "to discourage the withholding from the market of land in and near the cities".¹² Canadian Methodists¹³ and British Quakers¹⁴ likewise commend public ownership of land. The Catholics, on the other hand, condemn land nationalisation.¹⁵

(h) Reference to elevators, cold storage plants and abattoirs publicly controlled as an antidote to high prices occurs only in the Baptist "Folder No. 28".¹⁶

2. Taxation. This is a topic in various creeds both Catholic and Protestant.¹⁷ Both Catholics and the Federal Council agree that the burden of taxation should rest lightest on the poor and heaviest on those best able to bear it.¹⁸ The Unitarians call for a reform of the taxation system.¹⁹ The American Catholic Bishops, following Pope Leo, favor the taxation of income, excess profits

and inheritances. They cite the war debt as a particular occasion for altered modes of taxation at the present hour.¹

3. Prohibition. The liquor issue is broached in only a few of the creeds, our Conference creed, of course, not among them.² All of the American creeds favor complete prohibition with the possible exception of the Unitarian (which speaks of "just regulation") and of the Catholic.³ The Baptists call specifically for the enforcement of the Volstead Law⁴ while the Federal Council declares that providing recreational substitutes for the saloon is among the duties of the church.⁵ "State limits of the liquor traffic" is as far as the Catholics of America or the British interdenominational statement will go.⁶

4. Industrial Research. This, in general terms, is commended by the Ethical Culturists⁷ and by the Quakers;⁸ also by the Catholics and by the Canadian Presbyterians.⁹ We have already noticed the references to research work in connection with unemployment¹⁰ and with social insurance.¹¹

5. The Unitarian creed discusses improvements in municipal government, the merit system in all government departments and the significance of good citizenship.¹² Pope Leo also has the reflection that good government benefits the poor who deserve because of their labor and their need.¹³

6. The Abolition of Poverty. A number of the creeds contain the general declaration for the abatement of poverty usually in connection with various of the above mentioned expedients toward that end.¹⁴ The Presbyterians observe that there are personal causes of poverty as well as social causes.¹⁵ The Anglican Archbishops however maintain that poverty is not always due to scarcity or to "individual defects";¹⁶ while the Unitarians profess to be unconcerned with poverty except as social factors are the cause.¹⁷ The Brethern have something in this connection about "the relief of suffering" by which the familiar type of social work is probably meant.¹⁸

7. Capitalism. When we assemble all that the creeds say about Capitalism and about Socialism, we have two subjects and perhaps the only subjects on which difference of opinion is pronounced. Friendly to the existing system are views like those

of the Catholics who advocate the widest possible diffusion of property both for the comfort and for the contentment of the workers,¹ or the Pope's view that private property creates abundance;² likewise that which is said both by Catholics and by Baptists commendatory of saving.³

Then there is the opinion of Pope,⁴ Presbyterians,⁵ Methodists⁶ and the British Interdenominational group⁷ that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally harmonious and not antagonistic.

The Quakers state candidly "The Society of Friends has been slow to question the righteousness of the economic system as at present constituted",⁸ while another Quaker document, though ready to see capitalism limited, does not ask to have it abolished entirely.⁹

On the other hand the Catholic Bishops, even if vehemently opposed to Socialism, do not spare the present system a scathing indictment charging it with "inefficiency and waste," insufficient incomes for the majority and excessive incomes for "a minority of privileged capitalists" and urging as correctives various measures already discussed such as increased production by means of a living wage, industrial education, harmonisation between labor and capital on a basis of participation in management and the elimination of waste by means of co-operative ventures.¹⁰ The Interchurch World Movement meanwhile asserts that it is not committed to the present order as final.¹¹ One of the Quaker documents contends that ownership must minister to the need and the development of man,¹² while the Quaker employers take pains to make unequivocally clear that they "hold no brief" for the existing system. The Unitarians aver that resources must be used in the interests of the people.¹³ One of the Quaker documents would "limit the return of capital" while the Baptists would subject bequests at least to limiting conditions.¹⁴ The Federal Council, in its comments on the class struggle¹⁵ hardly agrees with the Canadian Presbyterians that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally harmonious.¹⁶ Similarly do the Anglican Archbishops¹⁷ and the Quaker employers find much that is unsatisfactory in the present system.¹⁸ Even one of the Catholic docu-

ments condemns capitalism outright¹ while the Unitarians call the wage system a "relic".² The English Church Socialist League asserts that "the wage system involves the spiritual subjection of the worker".³ Others that roundly challenge the competitive system are the Lambeth Conference⁴ and the Interchurch World Movement whose disapproval of *laissez faire* is vigorous.⁵ The British Friends assert that the scramble for profits prevents the worker from doing his best⁶ and vested interests, according to the Presbyterians, are no valid plea against change.⁷

8. Socialism, on the other hand, does not fare much better. Socialism has its friends in the churches but it also has, especially among the Catholics, many a bitter foe.

The Unitarians advocate that "the merits of the socialist propaganda" be considered.⁸ The British Friends are of the opinion that "all property with the exception of such things as are necessary for personal and household use should be owned communally".⁹ The Canadian Methodists advocate the nationalisation of "national resources such as mines, water power, fisheries, forests, the means of communication and public utilities on which all the people depend".¹⁰ The Anglican Archbishops would empower "local authorities to borrow for services needed".¹¹ The Lambeth Conference candidly yearns that co-operation might supplant the competitive system.¹² The English Church Socialist League of course, is explicitly dedicated to the Socialist cause.¹³ The Catholics though generally opposed to the extension of state power, would allow the state to own some things provided it does not restrict private initiative unwisely.¹⁴

Otherwise, however, the Catholic Church is vehemently opposed to Socialism.¹⁵ Even in matters of industrial legislation it would have not all but only some of the workers protected.¹⁶ It declares definitely for private ownership as opposed to state ownership,¹⁷ regarding as injurious state ownership of anything which is not a monopoly.¹⁸ The Husslein program condemns Socialism outright and offers arguments against it.¹⁹ We have already noticed its condemnation of land nationalisation.²⁰ The American Catholic Bishops assert that Socialism entails "bureaucracy," "political tyranny," "inefficiency," "decadence," and the "helplessness

of the individual".¹ The state is not a fetish.² The state is the servant and not the master.³

Almost the only parallels to the Catholic position and comparatively feeble parallels at that, are the Ethical Culture view that "the state should not be loaded with too much"⁴ and the feeling of the British Interdenominational Statement which would avoid "all usurpation by the state of functions which naturally belong to the individual or the family".⁵

Especially obnoxious to the Catholics, as already noted, is state interference with the education of children.⁶ The child, according to the Pope's Encyclical is under parental authority,⁷ a view to which all of the Catholic pronouncements adhere without exception.

9. A few of the creeds contemplate the imminence of a social revolution.⁸

The Interchurch World Movement apprehends that the stability of civilization is in danger.⁹ Yet the Episcopalians surmise that conditions presage the advent of "higher and more human forms of organization".¹⁰ The Baptists and the Quakers are concerned that the change may come without violence,¹¹ a hope for which the Lambeth Conference sees warrant when it reflects that there are captains of industry liberal enough to favor radical reform.¹²

VII. SOCIAL GROUPS

Under this title we shall consider what the social creeds of the churches have to say about:

- (a) Amity among Races and Other Social Groups.
- (b) The Negro.
- (c) The Immigrant.

(a) Baptists and Congregationalists exhort all classes to co-operate without class dictation.¹³ The Chicago Church Federation, having in mind groups and factions of various types, reminds us "that the well-being of society as a whole is of greater importance than that of any of its parts".¹⁴ The Canadian Presbyterians¹⁵ and the Universalists¹⁶ are also aware that hostile class divisions are pernicious¹⁷ while the Unitarians affirm for all races, brotherhood and equality.¹⁸ With kindred sentiments, Evangeli-

cals,¹ Quakers,² Methodists,³ and the Interchurch World Movement⁴ wish race restrictions abolished. Interracial conferences are among the specific measures which the Baptists recommend.⁵

(b) The rights of the Negro receive consideration from the Interchurch World Movement,⁶ the Baptists,⁷ the Congregationalists,⁸ the Federal Council⁹ and one of our own Conference creeds.¹⁰ "The Colored people", says the Federal Council, "should have parks and playgrounds, equal wages for equal work, adequate and efficient schools, equal facilities and courtesies when traveling, adequate housing, lighting and sanitation, police protection and equality before the law".¹¹ When the Federal Council proceeds to condemn lynching, Baptists, Congregationalists and our own Conference chime in.¹²

(c) Concern for the foreigner is expressed by the Interchurch World Movement,¹³ the Federal Council,¹⁴ the Baptists,¹⁵ the Unitarians,¹⁶ the Universalists,¹⁷ and naturally our own organization.¹⁸ The Baptists speak of Americanisation measures; the Federal Council is concerned not only about the naturalisation of the foreigner but also about his wages, housing and share in industrial management.¹⁹ Our Conference stands alone in the advocacy of liberal immigration measures,²⁰ while it also expresses views about the proper distribution, protection and assimilation of the immigrant.²¹

VIII. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

In this connection our creeds consider :

- (a) The Evils of War.
- (b) International Organization.
- (c) International Policy.
- (d) Attitude Toward our Former Enemies.
- (e) Attitude Toward the Near East.

(a) Foremost, among the opponents of war are, of course, the Quakers.²² The British Friends condemn force of all kinds.²³ Likewise opposed to war is the Lambeth Conference,²⁴ while the Unitarians reflect with what advantage the sums spent on burden-

some armament could be devoted to the social good.¹

(b) Baptists,² Congregationalists,³ Universalists⁴ and the Lambeth Conference are among those favoring an international league or court or both.⁵ The Congregationalists approve of the existing League of Nations. The Universalists call for "A United States of the World". The Brethren however speak simply of "arbitration",⁶ while the English Church Socialist League condemns the existing League of Nations.⁷

(c) Questions of international policy are broached by the Interchurch World Movement⁸ but chiefly by the Baptists who commend the Federal Council's Commission on International Relations, deprecate the exploitation of weak nations by the strong, and declare for equal rights and opportunities for all nations, access to roads and seas for all, and help for backward countries.⁹ The Universalists advise us to be willing to learn from all nations.¹⁰

(d) In a resolution attached to their creed the Congregationalists, speaking in 1919 "deprecate the spirit of intolerance and injustice which at times finds expression in our country against those with whom we recently were at war".¹¹

(e) The Armenians are mentioned by Congregationalists,¹² Methodist,¹³ and Baptists.¹⁴ Charity, international co-operation and government measures are advocated. The Baptists are almost willing, in this connection, to sacrifice international peace.

IX. ETHICAL POSTULATES AND PURPOSES

The subdivisions here are:

- A. General Ethical Considerations.
- B. Special Ethical Qualities.

A. The connection between social amelioration and fundamental Ethical tendencies is repeatedly, universally, and copiously asserted. One or more of the following three strands of connection will be found wherever the ethical issues are touched in our creeds: Ethical factors are either:

- (a) The Incentive to Social Effort.
- (b) The Means Toward Social Results.
- (c) The Goal of Social Effort.

(a) The thought that ethical considerations constitute an incentive to social effort is voiced by the Federal Council,¹ the Interchurch World Movement,² the Baptists,³ the Ethical Culturists,⁴ and the Conference of Rabbis.⁵ Also conceived as stimulative of social endeavor are such qualities as reverence for the human personality, the sense of brotherhood, the consciousness of equality, and the passion for service that are presently to be considered.

(b) But ethics is also a means. Not only do ethical convictions in ourselves make us dissatisfied with social imperfections but likewise in others, rich and poor, employer or worker, are ethical leanings imperative before the desired social changes can be accomplished. Not a few of the creeds embody this thought.⁶ Thus the British interdenominational statement reminds us that "self control has important social consequences".⁷ The British Friends believe that any social program needs "the spiritual force of righteousness".⁸ The Baptists are convinced that without ethical idealism, there can be no conciliation of labor troubles.⁹ Naturally these considerations have great weight with the Presbyterians who as we saw, virtually alone among those on our list, ponder the role played by personal derelictions among the causes of distress.¹⁰

(c) Finally, there are the ethical goals. Among the ends to be gained by a rectified industrial and social order is better human character. Catholics,¹¹ Quakers,¹² Unitarians,¹³ Baptists and Congregationalists,¹⁴ visage this aim. The Baptists desire industry to be of a kind that will be safe for morals. The Congregationalists affirm the necessity of wages that will safeguard morality. The Unitarians make moral education within the home a part of their program.¹⁵

B. The Special Ethical Considerations are:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Human Worth. | 6. Equality. |
| 2. Brotherhood. | 7. Home Conservation. |
| 3. Service. | 8. Aversion to Violence. |
| 4. Honesty. | 9. Free Speech. |
| 5. Simplicity. | |

1. Most of the creeds affirm the intrinsic worth of man.¹ Those that omit such specific affirmation do so no doubt under the impression that the fact is too obvious to require special mention. "Happiness in work should be regarded as a definite aim and asset" say the Quaker employers the purpose of whose resolutions is to explain "how the Quaker conception of the divine worth of all life which is accepted in wide circles of thought today affects our modern industrial life and in particular the relationship between employers and employed". "The worker", so their statement continues in another passage, "should be regarded as an integral part of a living organism, not a mere dividend producing machine and treated with respect and courtesy. There should be no nagging or bullying by those in authority but on the contrary insight and leadership". The worker in other words is not to be regarded as "so many units of nervous and muscular energy".² The Pope's encyclical says that a man's human worth is something that he must refuse to yield.³ The British Interdenominational Statement holds that "our legislation must reflect the truth that persons are more sacred than property".⁴ Property is secondary⁵ according to yet another of the creeds. "Man is an end in himself" is, in substance, the Kantian affirmation of the Presbyterians.⁶ He is "not a machine" or "a commodity" say the Methodists.⁷ The worker is not "a tool" says the English Church Socialist League. "He is a personality" says, in essence, the Chicago Church Federation;⁸ a being "with an eternal destiny" says the Lambeth Conference.⁹ Quakers,¹⁰ Baptists,¹¹ and Methodists,¹² join in claiming for the worker opportunity, interesting work, responsibility, self-directive activity, creative instinct; to which the Anglican Archbishops add a demand for his exemption from work that is nothing but mechanical drudgery.¹³ The Baptists conceive that back of their entire social program lies the hope that "the many may become what the few now are".¹⁴ When we recall that the Ethical Culture Statement was framed by Dr. Felix Adler, we need no farther assurance that the thought of human worth is paramount.¹⁵

2. Throughout the creeds not only does the word "brotherhood" occur repeatedly but also numerous synonyms for "brotherhood" such as "co-operation",¹⁶ "fellowship",¹⁷ "fraternity",¹⁸ "partnership",¹⁹ "social justice",²⁰ "sympathy",²¹ "confidence",

"good will",¹ "trust",² and "helpfulness",³ all conveying the thought that social betterment can thrive nowhere except in the soil of concord and mutuality. The Presbyterians know that it is "brotherhood which alone can bring us enduring peace".⁴ The Baptists visage a brotherhood of investors, managers and workers.⁵ The Methodists wish a partnership of labor and capital.⁶ The Unitarians speak of a partnership in which consumer, manager and producer are members.⁷ Another Baptist creed assures us that fraternity is needed to stabilize industrial relations.⁸ The Methodist Bishops would see co-operation supplant competition.⁹ Yet a third Baptist statement holds that "help should be greatest where the need is sorest",¹⁰ while the Quakers declare that sympathy and good will should be exercised even "at risks to personal security and ease".¹¹

3. The ideal of service appears in three different aspects:

- (a) Supplanting of the Profit Motive with the Service Motive.
- (b) The Stewardship of Wealth and Power.
- (c) The Duty to Work.

(a) Ethical Culturists¹² join with the Federal Council,¹³ Presbyterians,¹⁴ Quakers,¹⁵ Unitarians,¹⁶ Episcopalians,¹⁷ Methodists,¹⁸ and others in urging that the motive of service and not that of profit shall dominate. The gain motive "hinders the creation of spiritual values" declare the British Quakers.¹⁹ That the profit motive is not indispensable is the burden of certain Ethical Culture pronouncements²⁰ and a passage in the Canadian Methodist creed offers an argument for this contention. "Every industry save one in Britain", it says, "has been made to serve the national interest by the elimination of the element of private profit. That the present organization based on production and service for profits can be superseded by a system of production and service for human needs is no longer a dream".²¹ The Anglican Archbishops maintain that "industry ought to be regarded primarily as a social service"²² agreeing with the Baptists who hold that industry should have the common good as its aim²³ and that in proportion to income and benefits must be the service rendered.²⁴ A number of the creeds repeat the traditional teachings about the perils of loving money²⁵ while the Lambeth Conference like the Presbyterians²⁶ scores

human selfishness and cherishes a vision of selfishness vanquished.¹

(b) The idea of possessions as entailing stewardship is common to Baptists,² Quakers,³ Presbyterians,⁴ Brethren,⁵ Unitarians,⁶ and, by implication, of Episcopalians⁷ and Catholics.⁸ Unitarians, Quakers and Presbyterians speak of wealth as a trust, of wealth and power as "trusts from God" and of the desirability of a public opinion which would regard them as such. The Baptists speak of the obligations of property⁹ and the intelligent use of property¹⁰ while the Quakers raise the important issue of the investor's duty to invest righteously.¹¹ The Pope's encyclical declares that generosity is suited to the rich as resignation to the poor.¹²

(c) The duty to work is also an item in a few of the creeds.¹³ The Baptists declare that useful work is incumbent upon all while the Presbyterians affirm that idleness is a sin.¹⁴

4. Honesty is asserted by a number of the creeds to be an indispensable requisite for worker and employer alike.¹⁵ The Canadian Methodists admonish that men shall be faithful at the work "for which they take a wage" and that they "treat no engagement as a scrap of paper".¹⁶ The Conference of Rabbis disapproves of "slacking and sabotage".¹⁷ The Lambert Conference "would emphasize the duty . . . of thoroughness in work".¹⁸ That it is not well for labor to be dictatorial and that both sides must hold agreements inviolate are Baptist views.¹⁹ Diminishing the output is unworthy of labor.²⁰ Labor as well as capital has a duty toward the public.²¹ Labor and capital have a duty toward one another.²² The obligation to obey the law rests equally on labor and on capital.²³ At least seven different creeds are represented in these sentiments. Even the Quaker employers admit concerning the workers that "their co-operation in the form of better and more intelligent work will generally be needed to increase the funds available".²⁴ The Unitarians meanwhile remind us that the dictatorship of the privileged is no more desirable than that of the proletariat.²⁵ The Presbyterians, admonishing the employers, proclaim that adulteration is a sin²⁶ while the Anglican Archbishops hold a similar view about the deterioration of the quality of goods put on the market.²⁷

On both sides, as Pope and Bishops assent, the service motive must supplant that of profit.¹ Not far from these opinions is probably that of the Papal Encyclical that "morality makes prosperity".²

5. A number of the creeds plead for the simplification of life and the keeping down of personal expenditures, particularly those devoted to display and indulgence.³ The Anglican Archbishops censure "large expenditures on amusements and luxuries".⁴ The Brethren denounce "selfish luxury" and "extravagant pleasures".⁵ The British Interdenominational statement is appalled at "the monstrous evil of luxurious extravagance".⁶ Canadian Presbyterians,⁷ and Unitarians⁸ add their protest against "ostentation" and "the parade of wealth". It is particularly the Quakers, however, that wax ardent in this their traditional position. One of the Quaker statements dwells upon the blessings of simplicity.⁹ Another declares that "a full and ample life shall be secured for all before luxurious living is demanded by any".¹⁰ Typical is the appeal of the Quaker employers: "We would ask all employers to consider very carefully whether their style of living and personal expenditure are restricted to what is needed to ensure the efficient performance of their functions in society. More than this is waste and is, moreover, a cause of class divisions".¹¹

6. Equality. While the Catholic Church¹² affirms emphatically that profound and insurmountable human inequalities exist and must be reckoned with in any social program, the Pope himself¹³ declaring these inequalities inescapable and even beneficial, the creeds as a whole abound in affirmations of equality of various types. The Federal Council statement begins with the sentence: "Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life".¹⁴ The Unitarians phrase it: "The right of all men . . . against encroachments of every kind".¹⁵ The Congregationalists¹⁶ and the Canadian Methodists¹⁷ decry special privileges while the American Methodists apprehend as a menace even inequality of wealth.¹⁸ One of the Unitarian creeds counsels modifications of court procedure to secure "more equal justice for rich and poor".¹⁹ The Baptist announcement that Capital and Labor "alike owe obedience to the

laws of the land" we have already noticed.¹ One of the Federal Council publications advocates the equality of women with men in the home.² The demand for the equality of the sexes in the control and the rewards of industry has been noted elsewhere.³

7. Home Conservation. A number of the creeds mention marriage, divorce, and sex evils.⁴ The Catholics, in this connection, naturally voice their traditional opposition to divorce and to birth control.⁵ Some of the creeds urge federal legislation or at least uniform legislation on divorce.⁶ Some, again, declare for a single standard of morals.⁷ The Congregationalists would have ministers exercise care about consenting to perform the marriage ceremony,⁸ while the Federal Council would subject marriage to certain official health requirements.⁹ The Federal Council creed sees a connection between housing and the marital proprieties,¹⁰ while another statement by the same body believes early marriage rendered possible by a family wage to be a desideratum.¹¹ A like strain is that of the British Interdenominational statement that "the grave economic and social obstacles to matrimony" constitute a problem calling urgently for solution.¹² The Quaker employers, it will be recalled, profess it their duty to pay the worker a wage "enabling him to marry".¹³ The Federal Council pamphlet on "Reconstruction" favors sex instruction for the young but is opposed to venereal prophylaxis and to segregation, both of which it regards as conducive to vice.¹⁴ The Church is assigned duties here which we shall consider later.

8. Aversion to Violence. Two types of violence are mentioned and deplored, violence on the part of those resisting the law and violence on the part of those presuming to enforce the law.¹⁵ "Let us work for changes, in their effect revolutionary, but achieved by consent and without violence"¹⁶ plead the Quakers. The Baptists point out the futility of violence,¹⁷ and several of the other creeds propose to avert it.¹⁸ The Catholics meanwhile regard violence as something to be put down by the state¹⁹ and even the Conference of Rabbis is willing that, under certain humane and legal restrictions, deportation of troublesome aliens shall take place.²⁰ At the same time our Conference is not blind to the menace of private police²¹ and thus concurs in the Federal Council statement which opposes violence by soldiers, the police and the press.²²

9. Freedom of Speech. Freedom of discussion is preached by a number of the creeds, chiefly by the Quakers with their traditional abhorrence of force in all forms.¹ Worthy is the position of the Methodist Bishops: "In the discussion of all such matters we urge all individuals and groups to hold fast the tolerance which comes out of mutual respect".² The Baptists declare boldly for the right of the church to untrammelled utterance.³ While the Universalist and the Federal Council statements are the only ones in the list mentioning amnesty to political prisoners,⁴ it is well known that since the adoption of these several creeds, virtually all of the religious bodies represented have publicly avowed their conviction that amnesty be granted promptly. The statement of the Canadian Methodists mentions the company owned town "as a menace to democracy, in that the citizens are in danger of being robbed of freedom of political action and of power to demand proper sanitary, educational and social conditions for themselves and their children".⁵

A little divergence of opinion however is manifest. The Congregationalists⁶ and the Federal Council⁷ speak of certain advisable limits upon speech while one of our own statements goes so far as to urge "the deportation by proper judicial procedure of aliens, who advocate violence".⁸ The Catholics wish the press to be "Christian" and to be more amply restrained by libel laws in view, no doubt, of the unwarranted abuse to which that Church is subject in various prints.⁹

X. THEOLOGICAL POSTULATES

So closely bound up with the ethical as barely to warrant a separate heading are the various theological postulates more or less in evidence throughout these creeds. References to God, the Fatherhood of God, Christ, Jesus, Christianity, etc., occur frequently while the duties of the church in the face of the social problems receive so much attention as to necessitate a separate section in our discussion. Our own conference creed of 1918 is introduced with the reflection that "the ideal of social justice has always been an integral part of Judaism" and the platform of 1920

recalls how "the great prophets of Israel gave voice to those ideals of Social Righteousness which today are recognized as the goal toward which humanity should strive".¹ Several of the Protestant creeds are almost entirely theological essays abounding in Bible verses assumed to prove the various conventional dogmas and almost obscuring the little that is said on the specifically social themes.² One gets the impression that in some churches it takes a thicker and in some a thinner theological coating to make the progressive social proposals acceptable.

Like Ethics, already noticed, religion also appears in the three-fold guise of incentive, of means and of goal.

(a) Religion as an incentive receives abundant illustration. Many of the creeds are devoted largely, and some of them almost exclusively, to showing that dissatisfaction with existing conditions and the striving after a better order follow necessarily from the sense of ones relation to God or to Christ.³ The English Church Socialist League identifies its struggle for Socialism with the traditional conflict of the Christian with the world.⁴ "Christian Duty",⁵ "Christian Ethics",⁶ "Christian Conceptions",⁷ "Christian Principles"⁸ are understood to be of towering significance in the social quest. One of the creeds would apply "Christian principles to the conduct of industrial, agricultural and commercial organisations and relationships".⁹ Another would apply "Christian principles to property, industrial organization, democratic government and public education"¹⁰ while yet another ascribes to Christianity a mission both evangelical and industrial.¹¹ One of the Baptist creeds feels that it is God who commands service for the common good and that consequently exploiting and profiteering are sin.¹² This same creed can find in religion an incentive even to revolutionary changes.¹³ Like the Lambeth Conference which thinks that "scientific economics require re-enforcement by Christian Ethics",¹⁴ the Chicago Church Federation holds that religion and economics must "work out a basis of sympathetic and intelligent understanding".¹⁵ References to Jesus and to Christ are naturally prolific.¹⁶ The Presbyterians find the social incentive in "God, the Father, the Son and the Spirit"¹⁷ and the Baptists see in Jesus the solution of the social problem.¹⁸ The Methodist Bishops declare that "the gospel of Jesus" is "the richest source

of social idealism".¹ The Lambeth Conference speaks of "the brotherhood of Christ." A Presbyterian creed speaks of Christ and the gospel as paramount and the Canadian Methodists avow their sympathy for labor as "followers of the carpenter of Nazareth".² Nor, (with due allowance for our Jewish predelections) are those words to be disdained which follow the 1908 edition of the Federal Council creed: "To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greeting of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ".³

It is striking that the Bishops' Program of the Catholics⁴ is among the few in which the word "Jesus" or "Christ" is not used.

To appraise this feature of the Christian creeds would take us too far afield even if we were not, by reason of our Jewish preconceptions, disqualified from arriving at an unbiased conclusion. Suffice it that we must distinguish here as in all studies of Christianity, between Jesus, the historical question and Jesus, the religious symbol. The fact that Christians themselves invariably confuse the two does not justify our failing to draw the clear line of demarcation. The Jesus of the social creeds is exclusively Jesus, the symbol—a symbol whose value remains entirely unaffected by any conclusions that scientific historical research may reach touching the Jesus biography or the historical credibility of any given passage in the Gospels. Jesus is a mental picture which Christians of all ages have invested with their respective ideals, the picture remaining although the ideals have changed. The fact that Jesus serves as the vehicle of a modern social program, just as in centuries past he was the vehicle of other programs, is merely an evidence of the zeal and devotion with which the program is advanced; due allowance being made, as already remarked, for the need of some familiar theological admixture to commend startling and unfamiliar social tenets.

The creeds also contain, however, considerable theological language of the less distinctively Christian type. Relations to God are mentioned by Quakers and by Episcopalians among the

social incentives.¹ The Catholics regard the Fatherhood of God as the basis of democracy.² The Lambeth Conference finding in God the spiritual regeneration vanquishing selfishness and greed³ deduces from the concept of God as Father, the concept of human worth. We have already noted the Presbyterian conviction that "wealth and power are trusts from God".⁴ The Quakers likewise regard God as the spiritual source of social purpose.⁵ Yet perhaps the loftiest utterance of all is this from the Quaker employers who, dispensing entirely with theological language set forth their religious attitude thus: "There is," they say, "but one way of escaping from the implications of such a conviction, to abandon it entirely, to forsake the vantage ground and to forget the only vision that could dominate our whole lives. Then the world of industry may revert to a soulless chaos in which we strive for our own ends. But those ends even as we achieve them will seem meaningless and vain. Doubtless to take the other course and claim for our religious faith the final word upon the problems with which industry confronts us may tax severely not only our financial resources but heart and will and brain. But is this a disadvantage?"⁶

(b) The conception of religion in general and of Christianity in particular as a means toward social improvement is naturally one that is rarely absent.⁷ The Pope's encyclical calls Christianity the cure for social evils,⁸ a statement which appears again almost verbatim in the pronouncement of the Canadian Presbyterians.⁹ The Lambeth Conference would rely upon Christian love to break all barriers.¹⁰ The British Interdenominational statement affirms that "a good Christian will be a good citizen"¹¹ and that "the chief contribution of the Christian spirit will be the awakening of men's consciences, the strengthening of the sense of personal responsibility".¹² The Methodists declare "the gospel of Christ" to be the supremely potent factor for "true civilization" and "the kingdom of God on earth".¹³

Less Christological is the Presbyterian view that a change of heart is the great essential¹⁴ and the Lambeth Conference's approval of Mr. Hoover's view that "something like a spiritual revival is required if the industrial problem of production is to be solved".¹⁵ The statement of the Church of the Brethren which is

strongly mingled with theological considerations mentions prayer, teaching, preaching, service and vicarious sacrifice as the means for effectuating the Divine Kingdom on earth.¹ Beautiful is the prayer with which the London Quakers terminate their list of social ideals: "Let us in all humility ask our Heavenly Father to give a true understanding of His will, and seek courage and faith to move on step by step as the path is shown to us".²

(c) Religion as an end. Throughout these creeds religion is usually considered as a social incentive; less frequently is it regarded as a means of advancing social reform while surprisingly scarce are the passages in which religious convictions or observances are the goals. The Church of the Brethren places among the social goals "a life of love, sacrifice and service".³ "The Kingdom of God" is the way the Congregational creed phrases the social goal.⁴ Much of the demand for Sunday observance has an obvious ecclesiastical motivation.⁵ The Catholics profess that their ultimate aim is the good of the soul, the church being the means to this end.⁶ One of the Catholic programs makes explicit mention of proper facilities for religious observance by persons engaged in agriculture.⁷ Our own Conference pronouncement about Sabbath observance has a similar purport.⁸ Curiously, it is the Ethical Culture statement, more than any of the others, which, in accordance with Dr. Adler's *Weltanschauung*, comprehends the "development of personality" as the final objective without which any social program is meaningless.⁹

XI. THE CHURCH AND ITS DUTIES

It is inevitable that social pronouncements issued by churches should contain references to the role the church may be expected to play in the quest for social betterment. Some creeds content themselves with the general reflection that the church should favor and assist in the several reforms enumerated. Thus the Methodist Bishops would have the church apply "Christian principles to social reconstruction"¹⁰ and the Presbyterians give a list of five reasons why social problems should be brought within the church's pur-

view.¹ The Chicago Church Federation avows that the church should stand for industrial righteousness,² the Lambeth Conference calls the church a possible reservoir of social service³ and sees striking parallels between the labor movement on the one hand and the aims of the church on the other.⁴

A unique thing about the Catholic utterances is the space devoted to the defense or rather praise of that church, the creeds reflecting the doctrine of various Catholic writers that the Protestant Reformation interrupted a process of social development which, if left unchecked, would have averted the social and industrial evils of today.⁵ The church is praised as having sponsored the best for any given period,⁶ as being the friend of the poor,⁷ and a force for democracy and brotherhood.⁸ Pauperism is alleged to have resulted when the power of the church declined.⁹ Most significant of all is the statement that the Catholic church is shown by its history to be capable of adaptation¹⁰ to changing needs.

Although the several creeds, as we have seen, go more or less into the details of social reconstruction, a number of the creeds are careful to erect limits to the church's province in this regard. Thus the Lambeth Conference maintains that the technical details of sociology are not within the church's sphere.¹¹ Similarly the Unitarians hold that the church must furnish not the details but the spirit,¹² and in like vein the Canadian Presbyterians, that "the church should not dogmatise at length in regard to economic details".¹³

More specific functions assigned the church are:

- (a) Inquiry.
- (b) Education.
- (c) Propaganda.
- (d) Organization.
- (e) Recreation.
- (f) Conciliation.
- (g) Initiative.
- (h) Democracy.
- (i) Courage.

(a) Inquiry. That the study of the social issues is a duty which the church must assume is maintained in a number of instances.¹⁴ The Chicago Church Federation, like our own

Conference¹ is solicitous that, when the pulpit speaks, it shall speak on a basis of adequate information. The Presbyterians particularly urge that ministers be students of social questions² and the Anglican Archbishops would have various parochial functions devolve upon the laity in order to allow the clergy more leisure for social study and work.³ The Methodists likewise stress the study function of the church, believing that it can not frame an industrial system but that it can find out.⁴ Quakers and Baptists likewise have something to say about making the study of social ills and the proposed remedies a portion of the church's task in the world.⁵ The Unitarians and Universalists regard the making of social surveys as lying within the church's domain.⁶ That this sentiment has found wide response is evident from the famous surveys which both the Interchurch World Movement and the Federal Council of Churches have sponsored.

(b) Education. Forums,⁷ Women's Classes,⁸ Study and Discussion Groups,⁹ as well as other educational expedients are mentioned by the several creeds in the interests of the social cause.¹⁰ Considerable is said about the social preparation of the ministry and social study courses in theological colleges.¹¹ The Unitarians would have the minister receive not only social training in the seminary, but would have him spend a preparatory year at some social settlement such as Hull House before entering upon his ministerial career.¹²

(c) Propaganda. Various of the creeds, that of our own Conference included, contain clauses urging the wide dissemination of the ideas they embody.¹³ The Presbyterians would have pastors soliciting the press for the publication of socially vital matter and arranging meetings to discuss "Christian concepts of industry".¹⁴ The Baptists recommend that the Fourth of July be made a day for promulgating social ideals.¹⁵

(d) Organization. Union for social progress not only among the churches of its own denomination but also inter-denominational union for social progress is commended by the Lambeth Conference¹⁶ and other Protestant bodies.¹⁷ The Interchurch World Movement foresees even international church conferences on social issues.¹⁸ Both Baptists and Presbyterians¹⁹ wish to see a social

program in each congregation and the people enlisted and their co-operation secured.

(e) Recreation. The statement giving most attention to this theme is the Federal Council pamphlet on the "Church and Social Reconstruction". This utterance holds that the providing of recreational substitutes for the saloon is among the church's problems.¹ It also intimates that the church can foster sexual morality by means of wholesome recreation and of reputable social contacts that can lead to marriage.²

(f) Conciliation. Mediation and conciliation for conflicting industrial groups are among the possibilities of the church as understood by the Pope,³ the Presbyterians,⁴ the Baptists,⁵ and the Conference of Rabbis.⁶ The Baptists would have the Church arrange frequent conferences between the groups in order to foster "amity and brotherhood".⁷ It is of interest to know that this has been attempted in some quarters with a fair degree of success.

(g) Initiative. While the Anglican Archbishops are the only ones who state in so many words that the church should take the initiative in promoting social reforms,⁸ it is not likely in view of what we have already observed that many of the other denominations would dissent.

(h) Democracy. The conciliatory function of the church is of course impossible if the church is committed to the interests of one class, as the Unitarians expressly state.⁹ Hence the objection of allowing the church to deteriorate into "a club of pew owners".¹⁰ "The unbrotherly aloofness of 'sittings'" is also decried by the Lambeth Conference.¹¹ The Federal Council admonishes the church that "in its assemblies artificial distinctions be rebuked and removed"¹² and that "in its councils of direction, workingmen be welcomed and the wisdom of the poor be freely recognized".¹³ Of special interest is the sentence in the program of the Anglican Archbishops that candidates for the ministry "be drawn from all classes in the community, and that no boy who has a vocation for the ministry should be prevented by poverty from entering it".¹⁴ The Church should be impartial.¹⁵ It should have the interests of the workingman at heart.¹⁶ It should be interested in all.¹⁷ Such and kindred sentiments are at home throughout our creeds.

(i) Courage. On this point, the manifesto of the English Church Socialist League strikes the keynote: "The process of attaining the goal will involve a struggle against those 'having great possessions' and the vested interests of wealth and power. But the Church Socialist League, so far from deploring such a struggle, sees in it an essential aspect of that conflict with the 'world' to which at his baptism every child of God is called".¹ The Chicago Church Federation in a similar strain asserts that "The church must fearlessly speak its convictions, even at the risk of being misunderstood or opposed".² The Federal Council also admonished the church not to be hesitant.³ The Methodists likewise exhort: "Let us have no fear of practicing what we preach, of encouraging the open discussion in the church of these vital questions until 'the good of all shall become each man's law'."⁴

CONCLUSION

Comment and summing up is hardly needed. The facts speak for themselves. The divisions wrought by Theology or at least under the excuse of Theology are rapidly being healed in the warm sunlight of social vision. "Here is one field in which theological and historical differences need not figure, in which religion may become a uniting, and not, as too often at present, a divisive force". Thus the Federal Council pamphlet on "Reconstruction" puts it. Here is where Anglican agrees with Catholic, Catholic with Quaker, Quaker with Baptist, and Baptist with Jew. The brotherhood of man takes shape amid the work that the brotherhood of man inspires.

Another truth which this study should bring home is that the church and synagog are not as closely identified with economic reaction as some are wont to fancy. Many may be the sins and the blunders of organized religion. The ideals promulgated by the creeds may find little echo in the preachings of the pulpits or the doings of the pews. Still, in the light of what we have observed, is it not an exaggeration to picture the church as the monster of economic backwardness such as, for instance, Upton Sinclair has portrayed in "The Profits of Religion"? Rather than subservience toward the rich is not partiality toward the poor the more frequent inclination of the church?

Again, we, as Rabbis, have much to learn from these creeds, our own included. Are the counsels of prudence so native to the lips of some of us necessarily the counsels of wisdom? Highly imprudent from a certain standpoint, are many of the statements of Baptists, Catholics, Unitarians, Quakers and even our own Yearbooks. Evidently prudence is not the only counsel which the veterans of religious work feel impelled to sanction. May it not be that religion has suffered more from excessive caution than from excessive temerity?

In any event, may we not utilize these creeds to combine both prophecy and prudence? If he can discuss in the pulpit such questions as collective bargaining, government ownership, amnesty for war prisoners, friendship for Germany or Russia or even what the Unitarians deftly call "the merits of the Socialist propaganda", by quoting creeds on which all of us stand together, lending the strength of our common approval and supplemented by the still vaster strength of our colleagues in the other confessions, need the Rabbi hesitate to do so?

Indeed the creeds of the churches and particularly those of our own Conference should be accorded a wider publicity than they have thus far enjoyed. I would like to see our creed of 1918 printed in vast numbers of leaflets and a copy placed in every book that the Conference issues and such quantities supplied to Rabbis all over the country that on New Year or on Atonement evening one may lie in every pew in America. The creed of 1918 could, in such a leaflet be amplified by single sentence additions on lynching, on immigration and on free speech from the resolutions adopted in 1920. Some day we may add something about rehabilitation rather than almsgiving as the proper mode of philanthropy and also some unqualified declaration against war, war with any country and under any pretext; and perhaps, at a time still more distant, something in favor of birth control. All of that however remains for the future. We have enough in our creeds already approved to furnish the basis of many a discussion, illuminating, potent and perhaps effective.

Finally we should note the universal perception that there is no service of God without the service of man. God reveals Himself to us as a mirror high above us wherein we see ourselves

reflected. We see Him as a Helper when we are helpers. We see Him as a Redeemer and Protector when we are redeemers and protectors. The love of man, in short, is the substance whereof the love of God is made and the service of man is the stuff whereof the service of God is made. Vain is the attempt to revive the waning flame of religion by the expedients that we so busily devise. When we humbly recognize in every man our brother, then will our failing sense of God be restored. The lowly consciousness of human brotherhood, like the breath from the four winds, is alone the heaven sent spirit that can make the dry bones live.

APPENDIX I.

The list of the Social Creeds Studied.

1. The Principles of Social Reconstruction. Folder No. 28 of the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention. Approved at Denver, May, 1919. American Baptist Publication Society.
2. Social Service Ideals. Issued by the Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention. Third Edition, 1920. An enlarged form of the same in "Social Justice", pp. 7-9, by Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, D. D. Issued jointly by the Department of Social Service and Rural Community Work of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Printed by the Judson Press, Philadelphia.
3. A typewritten copy of resolutions adopted by the Northern Baptist Convention, Denver, May, 1919; Buffalo, June, 1920; Indianapolis, 1922. Furnished through the courtesy of Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, chairman of the Northern Baptist Social Service Committee.
4. The Social Message of Christianity. Written by D. W. Kurtz, J. Hugh Heckman, Paul H. Bowman. Published by the General Education Board. Church of the Brethren. Elgin, Ill. (Dunkard).
5. Encyclical Letter of our Holy Father by Divine Providence, Pope Leo XIII, on the Condition of Labor. Official Translation. International Catholic Truth Society, 407 Bergen St., New York. This is a translation of the famous *Rerum Novarum* Encyclical of May 15, 1891.

6. Social Reconstruction, a General Review of the Problems and a Survey of Remedies. ("The Bishops' Program"). The Committee on Special War Activities, National Catholic War Council, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C.
7. A Catholic Social Platform, by Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J., Ph. D. (Officially adopted by various diocesan and national Catholic Associations in English speaking countries shortly after its appearance). In "The Church and Labor", by John A. Ryan, D. D., LL. D., and Joseph Husslein, S. J., Ph. D., The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920, pp. 291-303.
8. The Church and Human Welfare, A Declaration of Principles Submitted to The Conference of the Missouri District, Holstein, Mo., May 4-9, 1922, by the Committee on Christian Social Service. Eden Publishing House Print. St. Louis, Mo. (Evangelical Synod).
9. Christian Principles and American Community Life. Statement of Social Service Commission of Congregational Churches adopted at Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919. Congregational Education Society, Department of Social Service, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
10. A Resolution on Social Justice. Passed by the General Convention of 1913. The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Church Missions House, New York City.
11. Christianity and Industrial Problems. Being the Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry, published for the National Mission by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London, 6 St. Martins Place, W. C. 2. 1919, pp. 104-108.
12. The Social Task of the Church as Set Forth by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. Extracts from the Encyclical Letter. Resolutions. The Report of the Committee on Industrial Problems. Compiled by the Rev. Chas. Gilbert, Executive Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Diocese of New York. Reprinted by the Department of Christian Social Service of the Presiding Bishop and Council, 28 Fourth Ave., N. Y.
13. An Ethical Program for Business Men, submitted by Dr.

Felix Adler and endorsed by the Business Men's Group of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

A Synopsis of the same: An Ethical Program for Business Men Issued by the Business Men's Group of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

14. Reconstruction Statement Issued by the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions Comprising Ten Religious Bodies Including Catholics. Catholic Social Year Book for 1918. The Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England. The same reprinted in "A Christian Social Crusade", 1920.
15. The Social Program of the Pennsylvania Federation of Churches, 1923.
16. A Statement of Convictions Relating to the Realm of Industry. Distributed under the auspices of the Commission on Church and Industry of the Chicago Church Federation, 19 S. La Salle St., Chicago.
17. Interchurch World Movement of North America National Industrial Conference of Christian Representatives. Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, Oct. 2 and 3, 1919. Report of the Findings Committee. Headquarters of the Movement, 111 Fifth Ave., New York City.
18. The Church and Modern Industry. Dec., 1908. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. 105 E. 22nd St., New York.
19. Commission on the Church and Social Service. The Church and Social Reconstruction. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, July 1, 1919.
20. The Federal Council and Industrial Relations. Summary of its Position and Practical Work Since its Foundation in 1908 and Outline of the Policy inaugurated in 1920. This contains the latest version of the Federal Council's Social Creed,¹ which has been adopted by the National Council of Congregational Churches (1910), the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1910), the Northern Baptist Convention (1911), the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference (1913), the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1914), the United Brethren, The

Christian Church, the Reformed Church in the United States, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the Chicago Church Federation and informally endorsed by the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (See page 5. See actions of the Y. W. C. A. Convention of 1920. The Y. M. C. A. adopted the Federal Council Creed at its International Convention, Detroit, November 19-23, 1919).

21. Manifesto of the English Church Socialist League. Reprinted in "Reconstruction", January, 1919. Summarized in "Reconstruction Programs, a Bibliography and a Digest". (Church Missions House, New York City). p. 16.
22. C. C. A. R. Year Book, 1916, p. 154 ff.
23. C. C. A. R. Year Book, 1918, p. 102 ff.
24. C. C. A. R. Year Book, 1920, p. 87 ff.
1921, p. 44 ff.
1922, p. 64 ff.

Synopses are: Social Justice Program Adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Rochester, N. Y., 1920. Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, Rochester, N. Y.

Summary of Declarations on Social Justice by the C. C. A. R., 1920-1922. Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson, Macon, Georgia.

25. Reconstruction Program of the Canadian Methodist Church adopted at the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada at Hamilton, 1918. Parts of this program are to be found:

The New Republic, February 8, 1919, pp. 41, 42.

The Biblical World, Vol. LIII, pp. 601-602.

Christian Churches and Industrial Relations, a summary of the findings of the leading churches in Canada, Great Britain and the U. S. on present day Industrial Conditions; together with the report of the Canadian Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, Evangelism and Social Service, 518 Wesley Building, Toronto, Ontario.

Summarized in Reconstruction Programs, A Bibliography and Digest, The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Church Missions House, New York City. p. 17.

26. Deliverance of Commission on Temperance and Social Service. Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 50 Bliss Building, Washington, D. C. Typewritten copy through courtesy of Bishop James Cannon, Jr.
27. The Social Creed. What the Presbyterian Church believes about Social Problems. Issued by the Social Service Department of the New Era Movement for the Board of Missions, 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City. Adopted May, 1910.
28. Report of the Joint Committee on Christian Faith and Social Service. March 20, 1914. Typewritten copy through the Courtesy of Mr. Alfred Roy Ehman, Associate Field Director The New Era Movement of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.
29. Report of the Board of Home Missions to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. on the Church and Industry. May, 1920.
30. Social Unrest. Statement Adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada on the Social Unrest, June 12, 1919. Social and Industrial Problems. Statement Adopted by the General Assmehly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 10, 1920. The two are almost identical.
31. Social Thought in the Society of Friends. Published by the Committee on War and the Social Order of the Society of Friends, 136 Bishopgate E. C. 2. London. Especially page 5 containing the "Eight Points" adopted by the London Friends at the Yearly Meeting of 1918.
32. A Message from the Social Order Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1918. 304 Arch St., Philadelphia.
33. Conclusions of Twenty British Quaker Employers. The Survey, Nov. 23, 1918. Special Supplement.
34. A Statement on Social and Industrial Life. Adopted by the Conference of All Friends, London, 8th mo. 12th to 20th, 1920. Published by the Social Order Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa. 11th mo. 1st, 1920.
35. A Statement by the Social Order Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Tenth Month, 1921.

36. Universalist Social Service Program. Year Book, 1922, p. 77.
37. The Report of the Unitarian Commission on the Church and the Social Question. American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, 1910.
38. Official Report of the Proceedings of the 24th Meeting of the Yearly Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches held at Washington, D. C., Oct. 23-26, 1911. Boston. Press of Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1912, p. 33.
39. The Social Duty of the Unitarian Churches, adopted Oct. 14, 1919.
40. The Pastoral Letter of the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. May 10, 1919. Part of this is to be found in "Christian Churches and Industrial Conditions", Department of Evangelism and Social Service, 518 Wesley Building, Toronto, Ontario (p. 7) and in "What is a Christian Order in Industry?" Y. W. C. A., April, 1920.
41. Statement of the American Methodist Episcopal Church at the Centenary Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, June 25, 1919. In the Biblical World, Vol. LIII, No. 6, November, 1919, p. 606.
42. A Christian Industrial Program. Bulletin No. 29 of the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1921. Printed by the American Baptist Publication Society.

APPENDIX II

List of distinct topics broached in the forty-two creeds:

Accident Compensation	Co-operative Ownership
Adult Education	Co-partnership
Agriculture	Courage, Duty of the Church
Brotherhood	Cultural Opportunities
Capitalism	Defectives
Catholic Church Defended	Democracy, Duty of Church
Child Labor	Dependents
Conciliation, Function of Church	Economic Education
	Education, Function of Church

Employment Bureaus	Prisoners
Equality	Profiteering
Ethical Incentives	Prohibition
Ethical Goals	Propaganda Activities of Church
Ethics as a Means	Property Ownership by Workers
Farms for Unemployed	Racial Amity
Freedom of Speech	Recreation
Forgiveness of Former Enemies	Reform of Government
Health Safeguards in Industry	Regularization of Industry
Home Conservation	Relief of Unemployed
Honesty	Religion as a Means
Hours of Labor	Religious Incentives
Housing	Religious Goals
Human Worth	Research
Immigrants	Return of Excess Profits to Community
Industrial Representation	Revolution
Initiative of Social Reform by the Church	Saving Wage
Inquiry, Function of Church	Simplicity
International Policy	Scheduling of Public Works
Labor Organizations	Strikes
Land Laws	Sweating
Living Wage	Taxation
Lockouts	Unemployment Insurance
Management by Workers	Violence
Managerial Education	Vocational Training
Marriage	War
Monopoly	Wage Paramount in Industry
Mothers' Pensions	Weekly Day of Rest
Motives of Industry	Women's Work
Near East	Work for Unemployed
Negro	Work a Moral Duty
Old Age Pensions	Workshops for Unemployed
Organizing Activity of Church	World Organization
Poverty	

NOTES.

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¹The number is not absolute. We have found it expedient in some instances, to combine two or more pronouncements of a given church into one "creed unit" owing to their similarity or to their inseparable connection. Examples of the former are **13** and **30**. An example of the latter is our own **24**. Throughout these notes, the creeds, which will be found listed in Appendix I, will be referred to by number only, the number being placed in black faced type.

²Indirect representation would be that of the Reformed Church or of the United Brethren or of the Seventh Day Baptists who are represented in no other way than by their endorsement of the Federal Council Creed **20**. The number is obviously more than seventeen if we count separately the British and the American Friends, the British and the American Episcopalians, the Canadian and the American Methodists and Presbyterians, the Northern and the Southern Baptists, etc.

³Perhaps another example would be: "Standards and Recommendations Submitted by the National Industrial Members' Conference to the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. for Presentation to the National Convention of 1920." The actions of 1920 contain no reference to this document.

⁴Such is the character of several of the Catholic pronouncements in "The Church and Labor", by John A. Ryan, D. D., LL. D., and Joseph Husslein, S. J., Ph. D. New York, The Macmillan Co. 1920.

⁵None of the social creeds, except perhaps those enunciated by the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities is yet a creed in the traditional sense of something whose acceptance by the communicants is obligatory.

⁶For examples, see Ryan and Husslein op. cit.

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¹Appendix II.

²Throughout this paper the word "church" is to be used in the generic sense that it may include "synagogue".

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¹**5** pp. 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. **2** p. 8, pt. 9. **11** par. 6, par. 12. **12** p. 12. **20** pt. xiv, also pts. 1, 4. **13** 1, 7. **14** p. 35. **18** p. 18. **19** p. 20. **23** pt. 3. **24** vol. of 1920, p. 89; vol. of 1922, p. 68. **29** p. 8, pt. 2. **30** p. 5. **35** par. I. **37**, p. 9. **42** p. 14, par. 10.

²**11** par. 6.

³**5** pp. 10, 21.

⁴**30** p. 5. **29** p. 8, pt. 12.

⁵**20** pt. xiv.

⁶**18** p. 18.

⁷**37** p. 9.

⁸**11** par. 12.

⁹**20** pt. 4.

¹⁰**24** Vol. of 1920, p. 89; vol. of 1922, p. 68. **23** pt. 3.

¹¹**1** p. 9. **2** p. 8, pt. 10. **4** p. 12. **7** p. 298. **8**, **9** p. 13. **15** II; **2**. **18** p. 18. **20** pt. xiii. **23** pt. 4. **24** vol. of 1920, p. 89, pt. 6. **27** p. 10, pts. 9, 10. **28** p. 3. **29** p. 8, pt. 11. **38**. **42** p. 14, par. 10.

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¹ 29 p. 8, pt. 11. 4 p. 12. 7 p. 298. 15 II, 2. 9 p. 13. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89, pt. 6.

² 27 p. 10, pts. 9, 10.

³ ibid.

⁴ 42 p. 14, par. 10.

⁵ 11 par. 6.

⁶ 1 pp. 8, 14, 17, 22. 2 p. 8, pt. 8. ■ pp. 22, 23, 24. 7 p. 297. 9 p. 5. 11 par. 12. 13 I, 11. 14 p. 15. 18 p. 18. 19 p. 10. 20 pt.

3. 23 pt. 2. 24 vol. of 1922, p. 69. 29 p. 7, pt. 5. 33. 35 par. II. 36 par. 11, pt. d. 37 p. 9. 38. 39. par. II. 42 p. 4.

⁷ 1 pp. 14, 17. 11 par. 12. 14 p. 15.

⁸ 7 p. 297.

⁹ 11 par. 6.

¹⁰ 33.

¹¹ 5 pp. 22, 24.

¹² ibid.

¹³ 29 p. 7.

¹⁴ 19 p. 10.

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¹ 14 p. 14. 5 p. 23. 12 p. 12.

² 33.

³ 7 p. 297.

⁴ 6 pp. 15, 17, 18, 23.

⁵ 41.

⁶ 20 pt. 3. 7 p. 297.

⁷ 19 p. 16.

⁸ 6 pp. 13, 14, 17.

⁹ 4 p. 12.

¹⁰ 6 p. 17. 6 p. 15.

¹¹ 19 p. 10. 24 vol. of 1922, p. 69. 38.

¹² 18 p. 18. 20 pt. xv.

¹³ 19 p. 10.

¹⁴ 23 pt. 1. 20 pt. xvi.

¹⁵ 15 pt. 6. 27 p. 8. 33 pt. 2. 39 iii. 30 p. 5.

¹⁶ 25 pt. 6.

¹⁷ 2 p. 9. 1 par. 6. 42 p. 15. 18 p. 18.

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¹ 40.

² 12 p. 12 cf. 11 par. ■ and 30 pt. 3.

³ 5 pp. 10, 20.

⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 11.

⁵ 33.

⁶ 19 p. 9.

⁷ 25 pt. 3.

⁸ 20 pt. 3.

⁹ 40. 42 p. 13, par. 7.

¹⁰ 6 p. 22. 7 p. 295.

¹¹ 6 p. 22.

¹² 31 p. 26.

¹⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 8. 4 p. 12. 7 p. 296. 9 p. 5. 12 p. 12 (a). 13 i, 7. 14 p. 28. 18 p. 17. 19 p. 13. 20 pt. 3. 23 pts. 8, 9. 24 vol. of

1922, p. 68. 29 p. 7, pt. 4. 30 p. 5. 34 pt. 5. 35 par. iii. 37 p. 6.
38. 42 p. 14.

¹⁵ 4 p. 12. 2 p. 8, pt. 8.

¹⁶ 33.

¹⁷ 11 par. 3, e.

¹⁸ 19 p. 13, cf., also 42 p. 14.

¹⁹ 23 pts. 8, 9. 24 vol. of 1922, p. 68.

■ 38.

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¹ 23 ibid. 24 ibid. 42 p. 14. 35 par. iii. 7 pp. 296, 298. 19 p. 10.

² ibid.

³ ibid.

⁴ 13 I, 6.

⁵ ibid, and 30 p. 5. 34 pt. 5. 31 p. 29, pt. 5.

⁷ 13 I, p. 6.

⁸ 33.

⁹ 31 p. 28, pt. 1.

¹⁰ 11 par. 7.

¹¹ 33.

¹² 13 I.

¹³ 19 p. 10. 15 pt. 4.

¹⁴ 33.

¹⁵ 35 par. iii.

¹⁶ ibid.

¹⁷ 5 pp. 28, 30. 7 p. 296.

¹⁸ 33.

¹⁹ 6 p. 11. 7 p. 301.

²⁰ 19 p. 10.

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¹ 23 pt. 5. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 87, par. 6. ■ pp. 20, 23. 6 p. 19, 26. 7 p. 300. 30 p. 5. 27 p. 9, pt. 7. 28 p. 3, par. 5. 13 I, 5.
38. 33. 2 p. 8, pt. 9. 18 p. 18. 20 pt. ix.

² 6 p. 19.

³ 33.

⁴ 33.

⁵ 9 p. 5.

⁶ 27 p. 10.

⁷ Above, pages 3-5.

⁸ 6 p. 13. 42 p. 4. 33. 20 par. 4. 14 p. 15.

⁹ 35 par. iv, 4. 20 par. 4. 1 p. 17. 7 p. 297. 8. 29 p. 8, pt. 12.

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¹ 33.

² 1 p. 9. 4 p. 12. 5 pp. 19, 22. ■ p. 13. 8. 12 p. 8. 15 par. ii, pt. 3. 17 iv, 4. 19 p. 20. 23 pt. 5. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89. 29 p. 8. 37 p. 9. 38. 42 p. 4.

³ 20 pt. iv.

⁴ 15 II, 3.

⁵ ■ p. 13.

⁶ 14 p. 45.

⁷ 1 p. 8. 3 p. 14. 4 p. 12. 5 p. 22. ■ pp. 20, 21. 7 p. 300. 8.

18 p. 18. 19 p. 20. 20 pt. iv, par. 4. 23 pt. 6. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 87, par. 6, vol. of 1922, p. 68. 25 p. 3. 29 p. 8, pt. 7. 37 p. 9. 38. 23 pt. 6.

⁸ 11 par. 10.

⁹ 31 p. 26.

¹⁰ 6 p. 20.

¹¹ 24 vol. of 1922, p. 68. 3 par. 14.

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¹ 42 pp. 5, 15, 16. 3 par. 5. 1 p. 7. 40. 30 p. 7. 29 p. 7. 4. 9 pp. 5, 7. 13 II. 19 p. 8. 17 IV, 1.

² 9 p. 7.

³ 40.

⁴ 1 p. 7.

⁵ 6 p. 22. 7 pp. 295, 300.

⁶ 42 p. 16.

⁷ 36 par. 11 e.

⁸ 20 par. 3.

⁹ 11 par. 13 b. 6 p. 19.

¹⁰ 33.

¹¹ 13 III.

¹² 11 par. 3 a, par 13 a.

¹³ 34 pt. 4. 31 p. 29, pt. 3.

¹⁴ 2 p. 9. 3 par. 3. 42 pp. 12, 13, 16.

¹⁵ 9 p. 5.

¹⁶ 29 p. 6. 30 p. 5.

¹⁷ 19 pp. 8, 20. 20 par. 2.

¹⁸ 31 p. 29, par. 3.

¹⁹ 6 p. 22.

²⁰ 33.

²¹ 17 IV, 4.

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¹ 13 III.

² 40.

³ 35 par. v. 42 p. 15.

⁴ 1 p. 8. 6 p. 19. 7 pp. 299, 300. 9 p. 7. 11 par. 11. 12 p. 12. 13 II. 17 IV, 2. 20 pt. xii, par. 2. 23 pt. 10. 24 vol. of 1921, p. 44. 25. 28 p. 7. 29 p. 8, pt. 15. 30 p. 6. 33. 37 pp. 6, 9. 40.

42 pp. 4, 12, 15.

⁵ 24 vol. of 1921, p. 44.

⁶ 37 p. 6.

⁷ 7 pp. 299, 300

⁸ 42 p. 12.

⁹ 5 p. 24.

¹⁰ 5 pp. 26, 31.

¹¹ 42 p. 12.

¹² 33.

¹³ 13 pt. 1.

¹⁴ 20 pt. xii.

¹⁵ 11 par. 13.

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¹ ibid.

² 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.

- ³ 42 p. 13.
⁴ 35 par. v.
⁵ 7 p. 298.
⁶ *ibid.*
⁷ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88 cf., also 36 par. 11 c.
⁸ 1 p. 8. 3 par. 13. 5 p. 30. 7 p. 298. 18 p. 17. 20 pt. xii. 23
pt. 11. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88. 27 p. 10, pt. 11. 29 p. 8, pt. 13. 30
p. 6. 36 par. 11 d. 38. 42 p. 11.
⁹ 5 p. 30.
¹⁰ 7 p. 298.
¹¹ 42 p. 11.
¹² 22 p. 154, pts. viii, ix.
¹³ 3 par. 13.
¹⁴ 20 pt. xii.
¹⁵ 12 p. 13. ■ p. 9. 41. 4 p. 12.
¹⁶ 12 p. 13.
¹⁷ 41.
¹⁸ 4 p. 12.
¹⁹ 11 par. 13, c, d.
²⁰ 11 par. 13 d.
²¹ 13 I, 10.
²² 3 par. 3. 42 p. 15.
²³ 16 pt. vii.
²⁴ 12 p. 7.
²⁵ ■ p. 23.
²⁶ 6 p. 19.
²⁷ Above. Pages 3, 4, 8.

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- ¹ Above. Page 7.
² 7 p. 299. 6 p. 18. 1 p. 8. 2 p. 8, pt. 9. 40. 28 p. 3. 29 p. 7.,
pt. 6, p 8, pt. 10.
³ 23 pt. 8. 37 p. 6. 38. 20 pt. xi, par. 3. 2 p. 8, pt. 12.
⁴ 42 p. 4.
⁵ 30 p. 5.
⁶ 23 pt. 13.
⁷ Above. Page 9.
⁸ 7 p. 299.
⁹ 23 pt. 8. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.
¹⁰ 25 pt. 4.
¹¹ 18 p. 18. 20 pt. xi.
¹² 29 p. 8, pt. 10.
¹³ 7 p. 299.
¹⁴ 18 p. 18. 20 pt. xi.
¹⁵ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.
¹⁶ 7 p. 299.
¹⁷ 29 p. 8, pt. 10. 23 pt. 8. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.
¹⁸ 29 p. 8, pt. 10.
¹⁹ 6 p. 18.
²⁰ 23 pt. 7.
²¹ 29 p. 7, pt. 6. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89. 24 vol. of 1922, p. 68.
²² 6 p. 18.
²³ 6 p. 18.

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- ¹ 5 pp. 28, 30.
² 7 p. 299.
³ 1 p. 6. 2 p. 8, pt. 5; p. 7, pt. 1.
⁴ 37 pp. 9, 10.
⁵ 20 pt. viii, also Dunkards 4, Evangelicals 8, and Episcopalians.
12 p. 12 and par. 77.
⁶ 29 p. 7, pt. 6.
⁷ 37 p. 9.
⁸ 1 p. 6.
⁹ 2 pt. 2.
¹⁰ 19 p. 19.
¹¹ 6 p. 18.
¹² 14 p. 47.
¹³ 6 p. 19.
¹⁴ 1 p. 6. 6 p. 15. 7 p. 299. 12 p. 14, and par. 77. 15 II, 6. 19 pp. 13, 14. 20 par. 2. 23 pt. 12. 27 p. 10, pt. 12. 37 p. 9. 38.
40. 42 pp. 4, 14.
¹⁵ 12 p. 14.
¹⁶ 11 par. 18.
¹⁷ 23 pt. 12.
¹⁸ 14 p. 24.

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- ¹ 6 p. 15. 19 p. 13.
² 11 par. 15.
³ 42 p. 4. 19 p. 13.
⁴ 42 p. 14 cf. 14 p. 23 and 20 pt. ii.
⁵ 42 4.
⁶ 1 p. 6, pt. 2.
⁷ 19 p. 14.
⁸ 33.
⁹ 1 p. 6. 2 p. 7, pt. 3. 4 p. 13. 9 p. 5. 11 par. 6. 12 p. 12.
20 pt. iii. 33. 37 p. 10. 38.
¹⁰ 33.
¹¹ 20 pt. iii.
¹² 37 p. 10.
¹³ 14 p. 61.
¹⁴ 12 p. 12.
¹⁵ 38.

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- ¹ 1 p. 8. 2 p. 8, pt. 4. 6 pp. 20, 22. 7 pp. 299, 302. 9 p. 5. 12 p. 11. 13 I, 2, 3. 15 II, 10. 17 VII, X. 19 p. 11. 20 pt. iii. 29 p. 7, pt. 6, and p. 9, pt. 5. 35 par. iv. 36 par. 11, d. 37 pp. 9, 10.
² 6 p. 20. 7 p. 299.
³ 1 p. 8. 2 p. 8, pt. 4.
⁴ 29 p. 7.
⁵ 37 p. 10.
⁶ 13 I, 3. 19 p. 11. 14 p. 48.
⁷ 29 p. 7, pt. 6.
⁸ 37 p. 9.
⁹ 15 II, 10.
¹⁰ 33.
¹¹ 11 par. 10. 14 p. 47.

¹² 6 p. 22.

¹³ 6 p. 20. 14 p. 48. 9 p. 5.

¹⁴ 20 pt. iii.

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¹ 5 p. 7. 7 p. 302.

² 17 VII.

³ 29 p. 9, pt. 5.

⁴ Below. Page 39.

⁵ 36 par. 11 a.

⁶ 19 p. 11.

⁷ 13 I, 2.

⁸ 35 par. iv.

⁹ 12 p. 11.

¹⁰ 14 p. 48. 12 p. 11.

¹¹ 35 par. iv.

¹² 33.

¹³ ibid.

¹⁴ 7 p. 299. 2 p. 9. 15 II, 8, 10. 27 p. 11. 37 p. 10. 38. 4 p.

13. 23 pt. 14.

¹⁵ 7 p. 299.

¹⁶ 27 p. 11.

¹⁷ 37 p. 10.

¹⁸ 15 II, 8, 10.

¹⁹ 23 pt. 14.

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¹ 7 p. 299.

² 15 II, 8, 10. 37 p. 10.

³ 2 p. 9 cf., also 4 p. 13.

⁴ 23 pt. 14.

⁵ Above. Page 10.

⁶ 34 pt. 4.

⁷ 6 p. 16. 7 pp. 295, 300.

⁸ 29 p. 5. 1 p. 7.

⁹ 2 p. 9. 42 p. 13.

¹⁰ 36 par. 11 e.

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¹ 17 IV, 4.

² 12 par. 74.

³ 20 pt. 3.

⁴ 6 p. 16.

⁵ 6 p. 16.

⁶ 42 p. 13.

⁷ 6 p. 16.

⁸ 6 pp. 16, 23. 7 p. 296.

⁹ 1 p. 8. 2 p. 8. 42 pp. 6, 14.

¹⁰ 36 par. 11 b.

¹¹ 37 p. 9.

¹² 8.

¹³ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.

¹⁴ 11 par. 3 c.

¹⁵ 6 p. 16. 6 p. 23.

¹⁶ 8.

- ¹⁷ 37 p. 9.
¹⁸ 33.
²⁰ 42 pp. 13, 14.
²¹ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.
²² 11 par. 3 c.
²³ 4 12, 13.
²⁴ 6 p. 23.
²⁵ 25 pt. 6.
²⁶ 36 par. 11 d.
²⁷ 25 pt. 6.
²⁸ 42 p. 13.
²⁹ 6 p. 16.
³⁰ 36 par. 11 d.
³¹ 6 p. 23.

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- ¹ 4 pp. 12, 13. 42 p. 14 and 33.
² 33 The statement is endorsed by the Federal Council. 19 p. 9.
⁴ 25 pt. 6.
⁵ 11 par. 9.
⁶ 1 p. 8. 42 p. 5. 15 II, 11. 37 p. 10.
⁷ 1 p. 7.
⁸ 6 p. 12.
⁹ 6 p. 16.
¹¹ 2 p. 8, pt. 21. 30 p. 3.
¹² 11 par. 16.
¹³ 11 par. 17.
¹⁴ 25 pt. 6.
¹⁵ 31 p. 26.
¹⁶ 7 p. 301.
¹⁷ 1 p. 7.
¹⁸ 6 p. 24. 7 p. 297. 1 p. 6. 19 pp. 9, 11. 37 pp. 6, 9.
¹⁹ 7 p. 297. 19 p. 11.
²⁰ 37 p. 9.

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- ¹ 6 pp. 23, 24. ■ p. 24.
² 1 p. 6. 3 par. 4, par. 11. 12, p. 9, par. 79. 14 p. 60. 15 II, 1.
¹⁹ p. 16. 20 pt. vii. 36 par. 1. 37 p. 10.
³ 37 p. 10.
⁴ 3 par. 11.
⁵ 19 p. 16.
⁶ 14 p. 60.
⁷ 13 I, 4.
⁸ 32 par. 1, par. 2. 34.
⁹ 7 p. 298. 30 p. 7.
¹⁰ Above. Page 7.
¹¹ Above. Page 13.
¹² 37 pp. 9, 10.
¹³ 5 pp. 16, 18, 19.
¹⁴ 1 p. 9. 4 p. 13. 10. ■ p. 18. 20 pt. vi. 27, p. 8, pt. 4. 20
p. 7, pt. 6. 37 p. 9. 38.
¹⁵ 27 p. 8, pt. 4.
¹⁶ 11 par. 3 d.
¹⁷ 37 p. 9.
¹⁸ 4 p. 13.

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- ¹ 7 p. 294.
- ² 5 p. 24.
- ³ 7 pp. 293, 294. 5 p. 24. 42 p. 13.
- ⁴ 5 p. 9.
- ⁵ 30 p. 4.
- ⁶ 25.
- ⁷ 14 p. 14.
- ⁸ 32.
- ⁹ 34 pt. 3.
- ¹⁰ 6 p. 22.
- ¹¹ 17 III.
- ¹² 31 p. 8. 33.
- ¹³ 38.
- ¹⁴ 34 pt. 3. 42 p. 8, par. 19.
- ¹⁵ 20 par. 1.
- ¹⁶ 30 p. 4 cf. 34, 21.
- ¹⁷ 11 par. 3.
- ¹⁸ 33.

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- ¹ 6 p. 22. 7 p. 293.
- ² 39 par. ii.
- ³ 21.
- ⁴ 12 p. 2.
- ⁵ 17 VIII.
- ⁶ 34.
- ⁷ 29 p. 10, pt. 7.
- ⁸ 37 p. 9.
- ⁹ 31 p. 7.
- ¹⁰ 25 pt. 7.
- ¹¹ 11 par. 14.
- ¹² 12 pp. 12, 13.
- ¹³ 21.
- ¹⁴ 7 pp. 296, 297.
- ¹⁵ 6 21. 7 pp. 293, 301, 302.
- ¹⁶ 7 297, 298.
- ¹⁷ 6 p. 21.
- ¹⁸ 7 p. 296.
- ¹⁹ 7 pp. 293, 302.
- ²⁰ 7 p. 301

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- ¹ 6 p. 21.
- ² 7 p. 302.
- ³ ibid.
- ⁴ 13 I.
- ⁵ 14 p. 72.
- ⁶ 7 p. 302.
- ⁷ 5 p. 7.
- ⁸ 1 p. 3. 6 p. 21. 10. 12 pp. 12, 13. 17 III, VIII. 20 par. 1.
- ⁹ pp. 15, 16.
- ¹⁰ 17 VIII.
- ¹¹ 10.
- ¹² 42 p. 16. 34.

- ¹² 12 p. 7.
¹³ 1 p. 6. 9 p. 4.
¹⁴ 16 pt. I.
¹⁵ 30 p. 8.
¹⁶ 36 par. 7.
¹⁷ 37 p. 10. 38.

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- ¹ 8.
² 31 p. 1.
³ 26 p. 1. 41.
⁴ 17 IV, 5. 16 pt. I.
⁵ 3 p. 15.
⁶ 17 IV, 5.
⁷ 3 p. 15.
⁸ 9 p. 10.
⁹ 19 p. 13.
¹⁰ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89, par. 5.
¹¹ 19 p. 13.
¹² 3 p. 15. 9 p. 10. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89, par. 5.
¹³ 17 IV, 6.
¹⁴ 19 p. 14.
¹⁵ 1 p. 6.
¹⁶ 37 p. 10.
¹⁷ 38 par. 7.
¹⁸ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.
¹⁹ 1 p. 6. 19 p. 14.
²⁰ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89, par. 4.
²¹ Cf., also 5 p. 24.
²² 31 p. 6.
²³ ibid.
²⁴ 12 p. 4.

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- ¹ 37 p. 10.
² 1 pp. 9, 10. 3 par. 7, par. 8.
³ 9 p. 10.
⁴ 36 par. 9.
⁵ 12 p. 5, pt. 1, par. 78.
⁶ 4.
⁷ 21 p. 17.
⁸ 17 VIII.
⁹ 1 pp. 9, 10.
¹⁰ 36 par. 10.
¹¹ 9 p. 13.
¹² 9 p. 12.
¹³ 26 p. 2.
¹⁴ 3 pp. 9, 10.

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- ¹ 19 p. 8.
² 17 II.
³ 1 pp. 6, 7, 8. 2 passim.
⁴ 13 par. 2.
⁵ 24 vol. 1920, p. 90.

- ⁶ 3 p. 13. 11 par. 2. 13 p. 1. 13 pt. 3. 14 p. 59. 27 p. 9. 29 p. 7. 31 p. 5.
⁷ 14 p. 59.
⁸ 31 p. 5.
⁹ 3 p. 13.
¹⁰ 27 p. 9. 29 p. 7.
¹¹ 7 p. 293.
¹² 31 p. 2. 35 end.
¹³ 38.
¹⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 9. 9 p. 5.
¹⁵ 37 p. 10.

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- ¹ 2 p. 8, pt. 6, pt. 17. 3 par. 2. 4. 5 pp. 10, 20, 21. 6 p. 24.
⁷ p. 295. 8. 9 p. 3. 12 pp. 2, 10, 16, 17, par. 75. 13 p. 1. 14 p. 10. 16 pt. vi. 17 II. 19 p. 8. 21 p. 17. 29 p. 7. 30 p. 5. 31 pp. 3, 6. 32 par. ii. 33. 34 pt. 4. 35. 38. 40. 41. 42 pp. 3, 12.
¹¹ 33.
¹² 5 pp. 10, 20, 21.
¹⁴ 14 p. 10.
¹⁵ 8.
¹⁶ 29 p. 7.
¹⁷ 41.
¹⁸ 21. 16 VI.
¹⁹ 12 p. 17.
²⁰ 31, p. 5, pt. 2. 35.
²¹ 2 p. 8, pt. 7.
²² 40.
²³ 11 par. 3a.
²⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 17.
²⁵ 13 complete document.
²⁶ 2 p. 9. 3 par. 5. 4 p. 15. 7 p. 303. 12 pp. 2, 11, 15, 16. 16 pt. vi. 17 II, 3. 20 par. 1. 29 p. 5, pt. 7. 30 p. 8. 34 pt. 1. 42 p. 3. 3 p. 5. 11 par. 2. 14 p. 15. 17 IV, 3. 29 p. 5. 34 pt. 4. 36 par. 11 e. 40.
²⁷ 12 pp. 2, 4.
²⁸ 1 p. 7. 2 p. 8. 12 pt. 80. 39.
²⁹ 1 p. 3. 1 p. 8, pt. 22. 3 p. 5. 39. 41. 42, pp. 5, 16.
³⁰ 3 p. 3.
³¹ 32 III, 4.

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- ¹ 29 p. 6. 32 pt. 4.
² 32 par. iii. 11 par. 3 f.
³ 32 par. iii. 2 p. 9, pt. 27.
⁴ 30 p. 8.
⁵ 42 p. 15. 1 p. 7.
⁶ 41.
⁷ 39.
⁸ 1 p. 7.
⁹ 40.
¹⁰ 2 p. 9, pt. 27.
¹¹ 32 pt. 4.
¹² 13 pt. 4, pt. 5.
¹³ 19 p. 21.

- ¹⁴ 29 p. 5, par. iii. 30 p. 4.
¹⁵ 31 pp. 7, 16, 19, 23. 32 pt. 3. 34.
¹⁶ 39.
¹⁷ 12 pp. 3, 14.
¹⁸ 25 p. 41. 17 II, 2.
¹⁹ 31 p. 7.
²⁰ 13 pt. 4, pt. 5.
²¹ 25 par. 4.
²² 12 p. 11, par. 2. 11 par. 4.
²³ 42 pp. 9, 10.
²⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 15, pt. 22.
²⁵ 12 pp. 3, 4, 5, 8, par. 76. 42 p. 6. 27 p. 8. 38.
²⁶ 29 p. 10, pt. 7.

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- ¹ 12 p. 17 and par. 73.
² 2 p. 8, pt. 20. 42 pp. 5, 8.
³ 31 pt. 4. 34.
⁴ 29 p. 6, pt. 2.
⁵ 4 p. 13.
⁶ 38.
⁷ 12 p. 15
⁸ 5 pp. 12, 13.
⁹ 37 p. 10. 34. 29 p. 6, pt. 2.
¹⁰ 2 p. 8, pt. 18. 42 pp. 9, 10.
¹¹ 32 par. 3.
¹² 5 pp. 12, 13.
¹³ 2 p. 8, pt. 7. 4. 11 par. 5. 29 p. 7, pt. 4, p. 10, pt. 7. 31 p. 8.
¹⁴ 2 p. 8, pt. 7. 29 p. 10, pt. 7.
¹⁵ 3 p. 12. 7 p. 298. 9 p. 8. 12 par. 76. 19 p. 9. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88. 25 pt. 10. 30 p. 6. 42 pp. 11, 15.
¹⁶ 25 pt. 10.
¹⁷ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.
¹⁸ 12 par. 76.
¹⁹ 42 pp. 11, 15.
²⁰ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88, par. 2.
²¹ 7 p. 298. 9 p. 8. 19 p. 9. 30 p. 6. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.
²² 6 p. 24.
²³ 3 p. 12.
²⁴ 33.
²⁵ 39 par. iii.
²⁶ 29 p. 10, pt. 7.
²⁷ 11 par. 3 c.

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- ¹ 5 p. 10. 6 p. 24.
² 5 p. 15.
³ 4. 5 p. 12. 6 pp. 22, 23. 11 par. 5. 12 p. 15, par. 1. 14 p. 61.
13 Full Document. 30 p. 3. 31 pp. 4, 24, 28. 33. 34 pt. 2, pt. 4.
39 par. iii.
⁴ 11 par. 5.
⁵ 4.
⁶ 14 p. 61.
⁷ 30 p. 3.
⁸ 39 par. iii.

⁹ 32 par. iii.

¹⁰ 31 p. 24, p. 28.

¹¹ 33.

¹² 7 p. 292.

¹³ 5 p. 8.

¹⁴ 20 pt. 1.

¹⁵ 38.

¹⁶ 9 pp. 5, 6.

¹⁷ 25 pt. 1.

¹⁸ 41.

¹⁹ 37 p. 10.

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¹ 3 p. 12.

² 19 p. 13.

³ Above. Page 8.

⁴ 7 pp. 301, 302. 9 pp. 5, 9. 12 p. 8. 14 pp. 40, 61. 15 pt.

9. 16 pt. ii. 19 pp. 14, 15, 16. 20 pt. ii. 36 par. 8.

⁵ 7 p. 302. 14 pp. 43, 46, a Catholic Commentary on the creed.

⁶ 9 p. 9. 16 pt. ii. 15 pt. 9.

⁷ 4. 14 p. 61.

⁸ 9 p. 9.

⁹ 19 p. 15.

¹⁰ 20 pt. ii.

¹¹ 19 p. 16.

¹² 14 p. 40.

¹³ 33.

¹⁴ 19 p. 15.

¹⁵ 5 pp. 9, 19, 20. 6 p. 13. 19 pp. 7, 21. 20 par. 1. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89. 34. 36 par. 5. 40. 42 p. 16.

¹⁶ 34.

¹⁷ 42 pp. 12, 16.

¹⁸ 19 p. 7. 40.

¹⁹ 5 pp. 9, 19. 6 p. 13.

²⁰ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.

²¹ ibid.

²² 19 p. 7.

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¹ 29, p. 5. 17 V. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89. 31 p. 6. 36 par. 6.

² 40.

³ 1 p. 5, pt. 3.

⁴ 19 p. 12. 34 par. 4.

⁵ 25 pt. 8.

⁶ 9 p. 8.

⁷ 19 p. 12.

⁸ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89, a demand not a little reactionary considering how often exponents of unpopular economic movements are supposed to be advocates of violence in spite of their clear records and repeated disclaimers.

⁹ 7 pp. 302, 303.

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¹ 23 vol. of 1918, p. 101. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 88.

² 28. 8. 4.

³ 1 p. 5. 2 p. 9, pt. 30. ■ par. 5. 10. 12 pp. 2, 5. 15. 17 VI.
 19 passim. 25. 27 pp. 6, 8. 29 pp. 3, 46. 31 p. 1. 34. 37 p. 3.
 39. 42, p. 2.

⁴ 21.

⁵ 14 passim. ■■ passim.

⁶ 12 pp. 9, 15.

⁷ 14 passim.

⁸ 17 III. 20 pt. xvi. 29 p. 6. 6 p. 24.

⁹ 29 p. 6, pt. 3.

¹⁰ 17 III.

¹¹ 16 pt. x.

¹² 42 pp. 4, 5.

¹³ 42 p. 15.

¹⁴ 12 p. 9.

¹⁵ 16 pt. ii.

¹⁶ 9 p. 5. 12 pp. 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 18, par. 73, par. 76. 17 VI, VIII.

19 p. 21. 20 par. 1. 25 pt. 9. 29 pp. 3, 4. 34. 40.

¹⁷ 29 p. 4.

¹⁸ 3 par. 12.

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¹ 40.

² 12 p. 14. 29 p. 5. 25 pt. 9.

³ 18 p. 18.

⁴ 6.

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¹ 34. 12 p. 10, par. 1.

² 7 p. 292.

³ 12 p. 17.

⁴ 29 p. 6, pt. 2.

⁵ 34.

⁶ 33.

⁷ 5 p. 14. 7 pp. 292, 295, 302. 11. 15 I. 18. 19 p. 21. 25.
 27 p. 7. 28 p. 2. 35. 39. 42 pp. 3, 9.

⁸ 5 p. 14.

⁹ 30 p. 8.

¹⁰ 12 p. 15, par. 2.

¹¹ 14 p. 72.

¹² 14 p. 60.

¹³ 41.

¹⁴ 29 p. 4, iii.

¹⁵ 12 p. 10, par. 1.

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¹ 4.

² 34.

³ 4 p. 13.

⁴ 9 p. 9.

⁵ Cf., also 42 p. 6. 9 p. 9. ■ par. 11. 9 p. 13.

⁶ 7 p. 303.

⁷ 7 p. 301.

⁸ 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89.

⁹ 13 Complete Document.

¹⁰ 40. cf. 37 3.

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- ¹ 28.
- ² 16 pt. iii.
- ³ 12 p. 17, par. 5.
- ⁴ Cf. 1 pp. 4, 5. 27 pp. 6, 7. 35. 37.
- ⁵ "The Church and Labor", Ryan and Husslein. N. Y. 1920. pp. 182, 189, 194, 195.
- ⁶ 7 p. 294.
- ⁷ 5 p. 15.
- ⁸ 7 pp. 292, 303.
- ⁹ 7 p. 292.
- ¹⁰ 7 p. 295.
- ¹¹ 12 p. 13.
- ¹² 39.
- ¹³ 30 p. 8.
- ¹⁴ 11 par. 19. 18 p. 18. 19 p. 17. 29 p. 9, pt. 1. 31 pp. 24, 25.
- 36 par. 2.

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- ¹ 16 pt. viii. 22 vol. of 1916, p. 154.
- ² 27 p. 12. 29 p. 9, pt. 1.
- ³ 11 par. 19.
- ⁴ 26 p. 1.
- ⁵ 32 pt. 1. 1 p. 5.
- ⁶ 37 p. 5. 36. 15 I.
- ⁷ 19 p. 19. 15 I.
- ⁸ 15.
- ⁹ 26.
- ¹⁰ 1 p. 5. 5 p. 14. 19 pp. 15, 18. 42 pp. 6, 10.
- ¹¹ 11 par. 19. 17 VII, 3. 18 p. 18. 19 p. 19. 29 p. 9, pt. 5.
- ¹² 37 p. 7.
- ¹³ 3 p. 12. 11 par. 1. 16 pt. xi. 18 p. 18. 22 vol. of 1916, p. 154. 24 vol. of 1920, p. 89. 29 p. 10, pt. 8.
- ¹⁴ 29 p. 9, pt. 4.
- ¹⁵ 3 p. 4.
- ¹⁶ 12 p. 16.
- ¹⁷ 19 p. 19. 27 pp. 12, 13.
- ¹⁸ 17 VIII.
- ¹⁹ 1 p. 11, pt. 5. 29 p. 9, pt. 6.

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- ¹ 19 p. 16.
- ² ibid.
- ³ 5 pp. 9, 13.
- ⁴ 29 p. 9, pt. 2.
- ⁵ 42 p. 11.
- ⁶ 22 vol. of 1916, p. 154, viii, ix.
- ⁷ 42 pp. 2, 3.
- ⁸ 11 par. 19.
- ⁹ 37 p. 3.
- ¹⁰ 39 I.
- ¹¹ 12 p. 15, see C. C. A. R. Year Book for 1916, p. 153.
- ¹² 18 p. 20.
- ¹³ ibid.
- ¹⁴ 11 par. 19 cf. 12 p. 16.

¹⁵ 12 par. 75.

¹⁶ 37 p. 6.

¹⁷ 41.

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¹ 21.

² 16 pt. ix.

³ 19 p. 16.

⁴ 41.

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¹ pp. 6, 7, 8. Adopted, Philadelphia 1908. Reaffirmed Chicago 1912. Ratified St. Louis 1916. Reaffirmed and amplified Cleveland, May 6-8, 1919.

DISCUSSION.

Rabbi A. H. Silver: In order to elicit a fuller discussion of the magnificent paper read this evening, I make bold to start the ball rolling. I think it would be a pity if we would not spend a half hour or an hour this evening to discuss some of the more striking thoughts presented in Dr. Cronbach's stimulating and thought-provoking paper.

Two ideas came to my mind as I listened to the paper and I would like to have the judgment of Dr. Cronbach and others here on them this evening. Are we not, in the first place, more fortunate than Christian churches in the development of a social justice program? And is not the Christian church with all its good intents and desires basically handicapped in the development of a consistent social program?

I believe that a social program must be based upon a theology. It must emanate from a fundamental religious conviction. The theology of Christendom, unless I misinterpret basic Christianity, leads directly to communism. Jesus was a communist. The early Christian Church was communistic. Every real reformation in Christianity was attended with very definite communistic experiments. When Christian creeds hesitate on approaching the subject of Socialism and Communism, their hesitancy is to my mind due to caution or timidity. Were they really true to the informing and inspiring ideals of their faith, they would for example look upon the Soviet experiment in Russia today with real anticipation

and joy, because it is the first attempt on a vast, national scale to carry out the social doctrines of Jesus.

Judaism, if I read Judaism aright, never completely identified itself with any one economic system. If anything, it was anti-communistic. When the New Testament says, "What is mine is thine and what is thine is mine," and holds that up as the ideal, the Jew said: "He who says what is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine, in an Am Haaretz." Christianity and especially the Catholic Church to this day look upon wealth as an evil and the ideal Christian society is the society of the monastery and the convent where communism obtains, and poverty is preached as an ideal. The Jew said, "Wealth in itself is not an evil." :מזיקים: "ברוך ה' בממן וישמרן מן המזיקים" "May God bless you with wealth; may he keep you from the devil." In other words, it is the abuse of wealth that is the menace.

The Jew was not tied down to a communistic philosophy nor to a socialistic philosophy. The Jew was afraid of state-cults and state worship and bureaucracy and when we trace the history of the Jew for 2,000 years from the earliest Patriarchal times to the time of the destruction of the second temple we shall find a consistent opposition to strong authority, to centralized government. His ideal is more of a theocracy built upon freedom and individualism.

When the writer said, *כי לי כל הארץ* he wasn't giving expression to a socialistic ideal or to a communistic ideal. He didn't mean that the land belongs to the state, nor for that matter that the land belongs to the individual or to a community or to a Soviet within the state. He meant that whoever is in control of that land is subject to the higher control of God.

The point that I am trying to bring out is this: that Judaism is free from any entanglements with any economic system which must of necessity be temporary. Every system is temporary and every system must, in the course of time, make way for another system as soon as it becomes antiquated.

Judaism is today free because of this fundamentally sound view to proceed with a social program to meet the needs of the day. Christianity, tied theologically to a definite economic program, is not as free. You will recall the fine thought expressed

by Baldwin. The reason that Christian churches and Christendom at large are beginning now to interest themselves largely in social problems is because the 19th century marked a return to the Old Testament. That, to my mind, is a very significant statement.

Therefore, any position that we as a body take must be of a nature that will not bind us to a pronunciamento as regards a system, but rather as correlating a pressing and immediate problem to a general principle.

The speaker expressed the hope that some day we will declare ourselves against war, all war, under all circumstances. That to my mind would be a fatal mistake. That is against the genius of our race. Our people always recognized a *מלחמות מצוה* and a *מלחמות רשות*. What we should do is to throw the force of the authority of this body back of such agencies and such institutions as promise to make war progressively less possible and necessary.

Some of you would favor the League of Nations and some of you might favor the International Court of Arbitration, or the Permanent Court of International Justice which our President is endorsing today. An endorsement of this kind is desirable and valuable, but a pronouncement which would tie us down for all times to a definite theory such as would be involved in outright pacifism would be dangerous. That is why the Church is confounded today. The Church started out with a definite pacifistic theory,—“When a man strikes thee on the one cheek, turn thou the other.” With what result? In actual life it was found impossible to carry out this program and this spiritual dichotomy has blasted Christendom for 2,000 years.

Now I believe that the Jewish point of view on all such matters is sound, because it is closer to the ground-work of human life; it has a more thorough understanding of psychology, of human emotions, of human hopes and longings and the limitations of human life. It never went off on a tangent to asceticism or communism. They are all foreign to Jewish life. Judaism never allied itself with any extreme. It followed a very definite course of development and I think in that line marked out by the ages we ought to follow not cautiously and not with timidity but with courage, very purposefully and very consistently.

I believe the Jew today has the program of universal salvation in his Bible, in his literature and in his life, and I believe that leadership ought to come from within the ranks of Israel.

Rabbi Morgenstern: The paper that has just been presented must give you some idea of the spirit and ideals that are animating our work at the College these days. Some of you may have heard me say that in appointing a permanent professor for Jewish social studies at the College, we had in mind the idea not only of giving our future rabbis some practical training in handling the social problems that confront every rabbi, but, even more, in developing the social consciousness and the social program and the social creed of American Judaism. And I think every one of you who heard this paper tonight will feel that we are making very material and very rapid and very worth-while progress in that direction, and that the rabbis who will come out from the College in the future will have a very definite and well-established social point of view, that from work like this the outlook of American Judaism will be not merely backward to its past and to its theology and its tradition, but equally well forward to the social achievements in the direction of human brotherhood that Judaism ought, by virtue of its traditions, to look forward to.

For these reasons, because of the promise that this paper gives for the future of the College and its work, I tonight feel very happy and very proud. I would like very much to see something practical come out of this. I like the suggestion that the author of the paper threw out, I think off-hand, that it would be a fine thing if in every publication of the Conference its social creed or its social program were included. I do believe that the social creed or social program ought to be as integral a part of our Union Prayerbook as most of the prayers we have in it. I believe that the suggestion is equally good that it would be helpful if next Rosh-Hashonah in every seat in every one of our temples, this program could be given into the hands of our people, and with it, I believe, this paper, too.

I would like therefore to make the motion that the Executive Board consider very carefully and very sympathetically the question of giving as wide publicity to this paper and to our printed

social program as possible, as wide publicity as possible, not merely for non-Jewish readers who might see what progress Judaism is making and what elevated teachings it has, but also for our own co-religionists, to impress upon them the social program of American Judaism.

Rabbi Ettelson: Of course I share with all of you the sense of inspiration and I hope also of consecration which both the report of the Commission and more especially the wonderful paper that we listened to brought to us all. I feel however that the primary thing is not simply to listen but more importantly to act. It seems to me that we perhaps might lay the flattering unction to our soul that we have a greater theoretical justification for a social program, but the searching question that ought to come to us is whether this great possession, the ethical program of our Bible, is possessed by modern Jewry.

I am very glad that the suggestion was made that our social program be printed in all of our publications and that it be put in all our pews, but it does seem to me that we ought to remind ourselves of this very important fact before we even indirectly cast any reflections on our Christian brethren and that is, at the great biennial meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York when a resolution was introduced for amnesty to political prisoners, it was tabled and when one of the members of our Conference brought before this great assembly a resume of the social program of our Conference it was not even reported from the committee.

I feel that the real difficulty lies in the fact that we have not had the real courage of our convictions, that one of the things that makes Reform Judaism somewhat devitalized is the fact that often the constitutions of our congregations are in contradiction to the very things for which the ethical and spiritual program of our religion stands. We say that Reform Judaism is the religion of the prophets. What does that mean? It means the application to social, political, economic and all other questions coextensive with life of those principles of justice, sympathy, fair-play for which no elaborate ritual, no beautiful and impressive service can ever be a substitute.

And yet let us not forget that every proposal on the part of successive social justice committees had to fight its own way through on the floor of this Conference. Therefore I feel that this is not a time to lay any flattering unction to our soul but to do some soul-searching and to ask ourselves certain things in relation to our own attitude and actions and also to the attitudes and actions of our congregations.

The Conference should commit itself to a program and should challenge its lay members so that there shall never again happen what happened at the Jubilee Celebration.

Rabbi Wolf: If any one had told me five years ago that we would ever have an evening like this I wouldn't have believed it.

I arose for two practical reasons. In the first place there are two recommendations in the report of our Commission which I want acted upon. Those are the two recommendations in regard to the co-operation with the Federal Council and the Catholic Welfare Council relative to the six-day week and the investigation and the economic causes of war. And the other thing is to second the suggestion made by Rabbi Ettelson with reference to the reaction of the laymen at the last Union meeting. To my mind, it was an everlasting disgrace, that some rabbis and members of the Conference were present on the committee of which I also happened to be a member when our social justice platform was brought in to this combined committee of rabbis and laymen, and these leading members of the Conference, past presidents, co-operated in pushing aside the social justice platform as a very insignificant thing. And I will also never forget the other incident when some of the rabbis of this Conference sat in their seats and did not place themselves on record with reference to the amnesty resolution. So, I would like to urge on you first the adoption of the two recommendations in the social justice platform and secondly, I want to follow up Rabbi Ettelson's suggestion with this motion: That a special committee of five be appointed by the Executive Board to communicate with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations so that at the St. Louis Convention there shall be presented to the laymen for endorsement in the form of a paper perhaps, the social justice platform which you have endorsed again tonight.

Rabbi Charles S. Levi: As I listened to the paper and speakers tonight, I thought that the spirit of Judaism had been given in such a superlative manner that all we had to do hereafter was to think of God in the light given to us this evening and our love and service to man would naturally follow.

I am one who did not march up the aisle and sign my name in protest to amnesty for prisoners. I am one who did not mix religion with politics or nationalism with spiritualism. I am one who has sufficient confidence in the justice of our central administration at Washington to know that they think in terms of humanity as well as in terms of legality, in terms of civilization as well as in terms of imprisonment.

I am one of those who held in chain the social service leaders for suppression of programs of social service; programs are not always social service in reality; programs are not always the result of real study. Tonight for the first time was given us the first thorough study of social justice, of social idealism that I have ever listened to in the 34 years I have been attending this Conference, and from tonight on, with the inspiration and the consecration, I am ready to go forth to make deeper study of the program.

I wish to thank the Executive Board for having put on the program for this evening the expression of the social ideals of the world of today in association with the social ideals and theological implications of Judaism of old.

Rabbi Goldenson: Just a word of congratulation to the President of the Hebrew Union College and to the young men who are still at college and to those who will be there in the next generation, upon having as one of their teachers a man who possesses the gifts and above all the spirit of Professor Cronbach. I am happy indeed to know that he will be one of their teachers in the next decade. When he got through I didn't have in mind any controversial question. I had in mind a sense of shame for myself and for Judaism. That is the way it affected me and I asked myself, "Why is it that we have been able to do so little in line with the primary, with the essential teachings of our own

faith?" And I am sorry indeed to be obliged to say that the answer came when the first speaker put his question—"Are we not more fortunate than the Christians?"

Unfortunately a great deal of our theological and ethical impulses and thinking resolve themselves in controversies, in questions as to how we stand in relation to them, compared to how others stand related to them. That is our main trouble. I do not think there is anything that troubles the heart of Israel as much as this. It is quite irrelevant, I believe, as to who is more important in this matter, the Jew or the Gentile. I like to think of the deep and searching and most spiritual question asked by Micha, "What does the Lord require of thee? To do justice and to love mercy," and I like to interpret the third "to walk humbly with your God" almost literally. When it comes to your theology, when it comes to your Judaism as a faith, when it comes to taking your religion through comparisons with other religions, take that humbly, but first of all take the whole of the message of justice, take that seriously. If we take that seriously, take mercy seriously, feel that it is our main business to be preachers of justice and of mercy, to be the spokesmen in behalf of the poor and the needy and the suffering, we shall not have so much time and so much energy to think of the other side of the question, the question of credit. We are consumed in the marrow of our spirituality by this question of credit.

There is a way of taking idealism materialistically. When you see an ideal and think of that ideal first through self-reverence, or through reverence of your people, then it is material. When you take that ideal from the standpoint of what is involved in it for human beings, that is spiritual and the great trouble with us, I repeat, is whenever we hear a great proposition, when we read a great creed of other denominations, we think of ourselves. What have we done? Have we been first? This is ourselves! Have we more right to it? We have a claim upon it! And we enter into all sorts of controversies and lose our force instead of devoting all our energies to bringing about the thing that is right.

I feel that we ought to be happy that there are so many denominations in the world that are trying and thinking along these

lines, and if any of them have said the right thing and the beautiful thing and we haven't said it, we should be ashamed. That is the way I feel about it. I feel that it is very pertinent on the part of my friend to call to your attention what happened in New York City, but a few months ago. When I came back from New York City I was disheartened and discouraged. They tabled those resolutions, paid no attention to those features of the social program, that their own rabbis, their own spiritual leaders thought of for a decade. I felt and I said to myself, "All those fine speeches there and the great masses gotten together at the various services and the fine banquet and the money promised (only promised), all those things count for nothing." It is time for us to take these things very, very seriously and I thank God that Rabbi Cronbach is here, that he is going to teach our men and I hope and pray that they will go forth bearing his zeal into the pulpits of the land.

Rabbi Levinger: I want to add just one word to this very stirring discussion on a very profound subject, and that is on behalf of the social workers. About six weeks ago I attended the National Conference of Jewish Social Service in Washington and naturally I looked around to see my colleagues there. In that Conference there were, besides the rabbis of the cities where we met, six members of this Conference. Of those, beside Dr. Cronbach, whom of course I expected to see there and two rabbis now engaged in social service work, there were just three of us now occupying pulpits. I thought then and I think still more strongly tonight, we should be in closer contact with the people who are actually carrying out the details of Jewish social service in this country. We ought to meet with them, either as individuals or as bodies. We ought to know them and they ought to know us, not only in our own communities where, of course, we all have direct personal contact with them, but also as great, national organizations devoted to the same ideals.

Now, of course, I know that we are apt to patronize the mere social worker and I know because I have been a social worker, professionally for a while, that the social worker is just as apt to patronize the mere rabbi who talks generalities and doesn't know

social problems and doesn't have the actual, practical contact with the social work that is going on. We don't know each other. We are doing the idealistic and the spiritualistic leading and they are doing the practical, hard work in the social field and the two are often at cross purposes.

At that meeting there was one thing said that applied to the social workers and I believe to us as well. It was said by a labor leader. He was talking on the attitude of organized labor toward organized charity and he said, "Organized labor will be suspicious of organized charity until the time when a social worker or the mass of social workers come out in favor of organized labor at a time of conflict." He said, "It is easy to say you are the friend of the working man at the time when everybody says he is the friend of the working man, including the employer. It may seem like asking you to bite the hand that feeds you, but that is just what we do. We are asking you to bite the hand that feeds you."

Just yesterday I saw a cartoon in "The Nation" along the same line. A minister took his stand in the pulpit, paper in front of him and started out, "As we have no war at present, I shall base my subject on 'International Peace'."

We discuss; we argue; we pass resolutions; we are not always there on the firing line. I do not know whether it is the rabbis or the laymen who lack the courage, who lack the ideals. We needed the great stimulation of this paper and we need the translation of this tremendous message into the lives of the spiritual leaders in every congregation in the land.

Rabbi Silver: I am really very sorry that two men at least, for whose judgment and opinion I have the highest regard, have unfortunately so completely misunderstood and misinterpreted my words. You seem to have pinned on the words, "Are we not more fortunate," and used that as a stepping stone for a very fine bit of homily on humility for which I am grateful. Unfortunately, you forgot all the rest. The ideas which followed as deductions from that opinion of mine concerning the fortunate position of Israel in having a theological basis for its social program, you make no mention of.

Frankly, I do not feel that it is utterly out of place when the social creeds of some 17 denominations are discussed for a rabbi to ask himself: Whence do the creeds of these 17 sects emanate and whence does my creed emanate? I presented the thought this evening that the social creed of Christendom hasn't a sound theological source, while the social creed of Israel has; that in Christianity there ensues a dichotomy, a vicious contrast, while in Judaism there may be harmony.

Out of that thesis, what were my deductions? They were three and all three of which you forgot to mention. The first one was that as a people, mindful of our past experience, we should not identify ourselves with any specific economic program when we come to draft a social creed; because economic programs are temporary and subject to all the mutations of things temporary; that we can only treat each issue as it presents itself in relation to the great storehouse of national experience which is ours. That was my first conclusion, a right or wrong conclusion, but surely one that had to do not at all with racial chauvinism or pride.

My second inference was this: That in matters of social creeds we are not amateurs and that we should not blindly follow the leadership of this denomination or that; that we have 3,000 years of social experience as our guide.

And my concluding thought, which you completely overlooked, was that leadership must come from us—and I did not by that mean leadership in distributing pamphlets, but real leadership in social reconstructions—because we are a people which has had the longest social experience and the greatest contact with social values. It is more important for you and for me to study Jonah Gerondi, and Bachya, than it is to know what the bishops of England have decided to do on matters of ethics.

The point which I endeavored to make, and which unfortunately I did not make of sufficient clarity to attract you, was that we have a great storehouse of social experience to guide us and that in adopting a social creed we should not permit ourselves to go off on a tangent. I remember using that phrase. When Christianity appeared it presented to us a complete counsel of perfection and Judaism spurned it. It did not want a counsel of per-

fection. The sound, practical, realistic outlook of Judaism guided the Jew at every stage and the Jew refused to be diverted by visions of perfection however tantalizing.

Now if such a thought expressed at a time when 67 social creeds are being considered is extraneous and utterly unrelated, then I stand condemned of having introduced an utterly irrelevant theme, but I do not wish to be accused of being a religious chauvinist or laying unction to my soul. When it comes to action, the speaker is not always found wanting, either.

I said what I said because I wanted this social program not to go undiscussed. I don't think silence is the best tribute. I think if there are any thoughts in our minds, touching this vital question, this is the time to express them and I took the liberty to express mine.

Rabbi Leibert: I would like to correct an erroneous impression that some of you may carry away. I do not know whether it was the intention of Rabbi Silver to convey that impression. Still that is the impression I received and I should like to dispel the error. If I am not mistaken Christianity is not based upon the words or maxims or parables of Jesus; Christianity is based entirely upon the ideas of Paul and Paul was not a communist or a socialist but an individualist. Christianity throughout the ages has stressed individual salvation and not social salvation. The quotation from Baldwin proves that Christianity was always individualistic and not communistic or socialistic. On the other hand, Judaism has always expressed itself in social terms. It was a tribal concept in the beginning, ultimately becoming a purely social movement. From that point of view Judaism and not Christianity might be termed communistic or socialistic. I, for one, deplore that fact. Religion to me means something individual, something in which the soul of the individual may find solace and happiness, but unfortunately in Judaism the individual has always been submerged in the tribe or the nation. I would say it is rather unfortunate that Judaism emphasized the social aspect and neglected the individual. Rabbi Silver conveyed the opposite impression and it is this impression I wish to correct. The splendid essay by Ahad Haam on this very point bears out my contention.

Rabbi Foster: Upon listening to the papers, splendid, instructive and inspiring, I studied my own reaction and I found myself puzzled as well as pleased. I was pleased with the papers—the report of the Committee on Social Justice to a certain extent, as I will analyze a moment later, and also the fine paper presented by Dr. Cronbach, and then, after giving due praise to those who presented these interesting studies, I found myself puzzled by the attitude of the audience and I believe that we have given undue importance or disproportionate appraisal to the speakers of the evening, and I don't say this is dispraise of the speakers. I think that we have exaggerated the importance of the presentation from a Jewish point of view. I hope that I can make plain to you my own feelings. I can do it only by analyzing the report of the Committee on Social Justice. This is a body of spiritual leaders. This is an organization that stands for the preservation of the Jewish point of view and, as Rabbi Silver has so well said, there is a definite Jewish point of view, from our historic consciousness, from our aims, from our traditions, from our experience.

Now in the report of our Social Justice Committee was there a single reference, was there a single hint at anything of a Jewish nature? We agree with the efforts that are being made to reduce the inequalities in every line of industry of our time. What was the only issue that he presented? What was the only issue that he presented last year? But we shall not touch on last year's question. I stand for a six-day week. I am against the seven-day week, which he mentioned. I am against the 12-hour day. That is a matter of simple justice. The report was fairly lengthy because the letter was quoted in full that was sent to the Steel Institute in order to bring about this desirable change, but where was there the expression of an ideal; where was there the formation of a principle; where was there any justice done to what has actually been accomplished in our own Jewish field?

I say that was a lamentable deficiency and while we can listen with interest to a report with deficiencies, I say we gave undue proportion of praise to the report and applauded until we were weary of it.

I think we have misconstrued the situation.

Now with regard to the interesting analysis of present-day social welfare work that is being carried on; that is all I am sure Dr. Cronbach would claim for his paper. It was a splendid analysis of present-day activities. The various denominations have made their contributions. A great many interesting things are being spoken of, proposed; experiments are being instituted; they are most promising; some of them may work wonderfully well, but nothing more was presented to us by this interesting paper tonight; presented in choice language, with a great deal of fervor which carried conviction to our minds and hearts. But it was not sufficiently Jewish to warrant the proposal made by one of my colleagues that we shall have this printed in large numbers, distributed on Rosh Hashonah eve and Yom Kippur to help Jewish people understand the Jewish faith. Let us not forget that. We would confuse our people. It is an interesting study for us but it doesn't warrant promulgating a treatise like this as the last word on the Jewish social point of view.

We are beginning to develop that point of view. We are going to gather the data that will warrant the formation of a program that will be worth-while, but we have got first to feel deeply that which Rabbi Silver has pointed out—there is a difference between the Jewish point of view and the non-Jewish point of view and there are corollaries that follow from that point of view which we must keep in mind before we can estimate the real value of these presentations.

In conclusion, as one of those who was challenged on the amnesty question, I want to say I do not apologize for my vote against that resolution, but since I have been challenged indirectly I want to say that the next time that a group of men want to have a resolution passed that really will be beneficial, let them remove all extraneous elements, not insignificant or superficially extraneous elements, but elements which are fundamental, such as a reflection upon our country and criticism of authority. That was the reason that I voted against it although I have been as foremost as any one in getting pardon for those who should get it at the hands of our officials.

Rabbi Goldenson: I am sorry indeed that Rabbi Silver, for whom I have the highest respect, took my remarks in such a personal manner. I want to tell you exactly what took place within me even before I arose to speak. I have watched the utterances of the Conferences for a good many years. I have listened to my colleagues. I have read literature on these subjects from the pens or mouths of members and I felt when Dr. Cronbach was giving his paper that most likely some one would arise and make reference to that phase which unfortunately Rabbi Silver referred to. I knew the temper and I knew the character of the thinking of some of our men so well that I was afraid that that kind of a discussion would take place and I hoped that it would not. On the background of such fear, or possibly anxieties, or possibly even anticipation, Rabbi Silver arose and put his question. That stuck in my mind.

But he should not disassociate his first from all his subsequent thinking. There is a very integral relationship between his question and all that he said afterwards. I wish I had the time to analyze it, but there is just one word that I would like to analyze. He said that we have freedom, our history and our points of view and our principles give us freedom and greater freedom than our sister faiths have. I would like to know what is our freedom and what is the test of freedom. I don't know freedom, except as it works itself out in doing definite things at a specific time. We are not sufficiently free when we are only led up to the point to make general pronouncements. We are more free and the freedom is more rarely exhibited when we can express ourselves in concrete terms about concrete propositions. When the prophet of old said, "Thou art the man," that man showed his freedom. That is the only way I know freedom. When we can say, "This is not right," when we can come to the point of summoning within ourselves so much courage as to say to the unworthy, "This thing must not obtain and that thing and the other thing," then we will show our freedom. But to come back to the point, I was more interested in expressing a warning to myself than to you. I feel within me very often the tendency to discuss these questions from the standpoint of our own particularistic relationship to them and

lose the force and dissipate the energies to give all of myself to the things that ought to be done in behalf of what is right.

As I see the difficulty tonight, it is simply this: We rabbis are not accustomed to have questions put to us in such a practical way. We have not had enough of the theoretical in connection with them. I feel that some theoretical discussion in connection with this exceedingly practical paper might not be amiss for men who are accustomed to dealing almost exclusively in theoretical matters.

I therefore should like to offer this resolution: In order that the Jewish viewpoint with regard to social justice be fully and clearly presented,

Be it Resolved, that this Conference recommend to the Executive Board the presentation of a paper and discussion on the subject covering Jewish sources of social questions, at the next Conference.

Prof. Slonimsky: The hour is late but the subject is very important and perhaps it is worth while for every one who thinks he has something to contribute to the discussion to speak out. I, myself, am very grateful for two things that happened tonight. First for having been able to listen to the serious and sincere paper of my dear friend and colleague, Rabbi Cronbach; and secondly, for the statement made by the President of the Hebrew Union College. Both of these things are a sign of the fact that we are ready to begin to take our Judaism seriously. I was surprised (although I thought I was close to the various things that are going on in the world of social endeavor) at the programs of the various Christian Churches. I know and you know that the Christian Church as a church of institutionalized religion that has ruled Europe for 2,000 years, no matter how wonderful its beginnings were, or how wonderful individual members thereof have been, has always stood for the *status quo*, has stood for reaction in all matters political, economic and social throughout the centuries. I am profoundly grateful at the change that is coming over the leaders of the Church. To be sure I do not see what it all means, I do not see where all these magnificent professions are anywhere being embodied into actual deeds; I do not know where the Churches were during the war. I know of only one church,

namely, the Quaker Church, which stood by its professions. I will not speak of the differences between Christianity and Judaism, because, as a whole, Judaism stood where the Christian Churches stood, where none of them should have stood; the Quakers alone stood and acted in the spirit of religion.

However, in view of the fact that the Church as such has always stood on the side of reaction, it is a magnificent thing that the leaders of the Church are at least going so far as to make a profession, as to make an intellectual formulation, of the proper course to pursue in matters social and political.

Whatever Judaism may have been in the past, today, in this country, Judaism is the religion of a rich people and quite particularly is that the case with the constituencies of members of this Conference. Moreover, it does not take much to see that within twenty or twenty-five years all the Jews of this country will be rich people. I mean that the Jewish people, wherever they have a chance, possess the capacity of making what is called a social advance; that is, of moving away from the brink of economic precariousness. In twenty-five years the Jews of this country will belong to what is termed, technically, the "bourgeoisie" and most of them will have the opinions, the experience and the reactions that are characteristic of the "bourgeoisie."

This wonderful social creed which you adopted in 1918 and which is on a parity with the other social creeds does not represent the opinions of your constituencies. That fact was evidenced by the action of the Jubilee Convention in tabling the Amnesty Resolutions; and that, if my forecast is correct, will be increasingly true.

We are here facing a dilemma; either we will capitulate to our constituencies and thereby nullify the heart of our religion, or we will see whether Judaism has really the inner vitality to make a fight on this issue.

I think it will be a wonderful thing to have that creed printed and distributed on Rosh Hashonah if for no other reason than to show our constituencies that they cannot buy their Judaism cheaply. It means certain definite things that are very hard for rich people to accept and I hope and trust that this will be only the beginning of the translation of the ethical part of our religion into action.

G

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAM

THE INSTRUCTION OF HEBREW IN OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS

MAX REICHLER

A great deal has been said recently about the failure of the Sunday School. Rev. William E. Gardner, secretary of the Educational Department of the Episcopal Church, started the cry that "the Sunday School has no future. It is doomed to grow weaker in its appeal to the rising generation. . . . As an educational institution, the Church School, meeting on Sunday, is losing the confidence of leaders and parents. All kinds of families have ceased to place emphasis on the children being members of a Sunday School." At other times such a prophecy would have been quite discouraging. But in these days of pessimism, when we hear it often repeated that democracy and personal freedom have no future, the announcement that the Sunday School has no future, does not cause more than a ripple.

It would be interesting, however, to analyze the logic, psychology and purpose of such an announcement at this time. Is it true that parents who "have ceased to place emphasis on the children being members of a Sunday School," would welcome the opportunity of sending their children to religious classes during the week? Has the hope for more intensive religious instruction grown out of the desire to introduce the system of instruction prevalent in Episcopalian England? Has this any relation to the extensive propaganda purposing to introduce Bible reading and religious instruction into our public schools?

The Sunday School has always had its opponents and detractors. In England where the movement had its inception it was condemned in high places as a "dangerous, demoralizing agent

of the devil." When in 1780, Robert Raikes gathered the urchins of Gloucester into a class, and paid four old women a shilling apiece to teach the youngsters (reading, writing and religion), he was denounced at once as an enemy of the Church and the State. The Archbishop of Canterbury called a meeting "to devise ways and means to crush the dangerous enterprise." The leading English papers declared that Raikes' plan was "subversive of order and industry, of peace and tranquility of soul, and ought to be exploded as a vain, chimerical and visionary project."

The Jewish Sunday School, as conducted in modern Synagogues differs materially from the Protestant Sunday School. Most of our Sunday Schools are better organized and more systematized, and devote more time to graded class instruction. The teachers, too, are, as a rule, better paid. No one acquainted with the working of our Sunday Schools could have failed to notice the progress made during the last two decades. To be sure there is yet much to be desired, but we may just as well make up our minds that the Jewish Sunday School in America has come to stay. Week-day classes have been organized by many rabbis, dissatisfied with the results. I myself tried it out in the Bronx, the most conservative section of the most conservative city in the United States, and discovered to my great surprise that the majority of the members of my congregation refused to send their children on weekdays, claiming that their children were overworked in the public schools, and needed the afternoon for recreation.

It is, therefore, our duty to make the best of the two, or two and a half hours at our disposal. Should we then encroach upon this precious brief period by using one-half or one-third of it for the teaching of Hebrew? Why teach Hebrew at all? People forget all they have learned of it anyhow. But do you know that our war experiences taught us that this is true even of reading English. We always thought that once a person has learned how to read he ought to remain literate. Yet war-time statistics have shown that this has not been the case. Primary schooling cannot be counted on as a kind of vaccination which will last through life. If men lead illiterate lives, early instruction will not save them from lapsing into illiteracy. That is especially true in the case of

Hebrew. Unless it is used continually, we cannot expect our children to benefit by our instruction. Hence the Talmud Torah undertakes to make the Hebrew a living tongue among the young. Its object is not only to have the child read the Bible in the original, but also to enable him to read modern Hebrew, and to read understandingly parts of the Talmud. If the Talmud Torah graduate is unable to do that, it is because he has not continued reading Bible and Talmud.

If our aim is the same as that of the Talmud Torah, we ought not to waste any time in teaching Hebrew. For we may be reasonably sure that the child will never get enough of Hebrew in our Religious School to enable him to read easy passages of the Talmud, or even easy passages in modern Hebrew literature.

And again if the aim of the Sunday School is to teach pure ethics, and a kind of rarified religion, based on abstractions, Hebrew is superfluous. Said one rabbi to me recently: Why should the text of my sermon be quoted in Hebrew, when the Christian minister no longer quotes his text in Greek? My answer was: But neither do the Christian ministers read their Scriptural selections in Greek, but unfortunately you are still required to read the Perashah from the Torah, written on parchment in unvocalized Hebrew.

The fact is that Judaism is more than mere theology. It is life, and life consists of traditions, customs, conventions and acquired habits of thought. There is something in the Hebrew connotation of *Shema Yisroel* which arouses the Jewish soul, and which the English translation alone cannot do. This is true of most of the Hebrew responses retained in the Union Prayer Book. By experience I found that the singing of these Hebrew responses by the entire congregation brings out a certain indefinable spirit which greatly enhances the religious value of the service, and which cannot be replaced by anything else. Most of the rabbis appreciate the value of this kind of congregational singing, and aim to introduce it into their respective communities.

We do not, however, want our congregation to repeat, or sing words that convey no living message. Hence our aim in teaching the rudiments of Hebrew should be to enable our children, after

a few years of study, to read Hebrew fluently, to know fairly well the grammar and construction of sentences, and to become familiar with the vocabulary of the most important parts of the Union Prayer Book. If, as we hope, they continue to attend our services, they are not liable to forget what they have learned, and will rejoice in the consciousness of being able to follow the reading of the Hebrew, and to participate intelligently in the singing of the Hebrew responses.

Since we can count on only one period a week for not more than five years, we must not waste time in going far afield. We must begin at once with the vocabulary of the Prayer Book, and have the child assimilate the words and phrases by a gradual process and by continuous repetition. In advanced classes easy biblical passages may be selected, but the prayer book vocabulary, must continue to be the background of every lesson. It is impossible for us to imitate the method and procedure of European Hebrew text books, for these aim to make Hebrew a living language in the mouths of the Jewish youth, and we are frank enough to acknowledge our inability to accomplish this in our Sunday Schools as now constituted. We are aware of our limitations.

We must, of course, endeavor to make Hebrew as interesting as possible. We must utilize whatever "apperceptive mass" the child brings into the class room. Its knowledge of English will help the Hebrew teacher. It is obviously absurd for a teacher in America, teaching Hebrew to a class of boys and girls of the age of ten, able to read English fluently, able to express themselves intelligently in that language; I say it is obviously absurd for such a teacher to use the method employed by a teacher in Palestine teaching Hebrew to a kindergarten class. And yet this has been tried in many Jewish Sunday Schools in this country.

Let us not, however, imagine that there is a smooth road to Hebrew. Home study must be insisted on, and the despised mechanical reading is absolutely essential. Even a man like Halevi, who is considered an authority on the "*Ivrit beivrit*" method, maintained in one of the issues of the *Hatoren*, that to get the proper results, the so-called mechanical method must be com-

bined with the natural method. We know that the child dislikes mere mechanical reading, and enjoys the translation exercises. Yet if we neglect to devote part of the lesson to mechanical reading, we will discover that the pupils lose interest in the advanced classes. For when reading becomes a difficult task, ability to translate does not compensate for the effort. On the other hand, the pupils that master the difficulties of reading in the early stages of their study, and need make no special effort in that direction, find the work more and more interesting.

My personal belief is that the time devoted to Hebrew in our Sunday Schools is not wasted, and, if the course is properly planned and executed, it will yield remarkable results, and accomplish our desired purpose, namely: it will popularize the most important Hebrew sections of our prayer book, which form a link of unity between us and the entire *Keneseth Yisroel*, it will facilitate the introduction of congregational singing throughout the service, and will serve to preserve the mystic, indefinable element of our service, without encouraging mere lip service and repetition of meaningless words and formulas.

SHALL WE TEACH CEREMONIES IN THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL?

IRVING F. REICHERT

Of all the themes that are discussed nowadays in the pulpits of reform Jewish synagogues throughout the land, probably no other single subject is dwelt upon as universally and as seriously as that of the startling religious indifference that prevails in Israel today. Here at last, is a topic upon the significance and urgency of which all reform rabbis agree. From the East and from the West, from the North and from the sea there issue with disconcerting uniformity loud laments over the defection of Reform Jewry, and anxious queries regarding the destiny and future of our historic faith, that to all appearances at least, has here in America run counter to as paralyzing an apathy as it has perhaps ever experienced in its century-traveled career. To observe that non-Jewish ministers are compelled by analagous conditions in their own denominations to voice similar utterances of dismay, may perhaps afford some comfort to those who find in simple gregariousness sufficient consolation for all evils, but such soothing-syrup methods serve neither as an aid to the analysis of the condition that confronts us, nor as a remedy for its adjustment.

Nor must we be too credulous in accepting the splendid enthusiasm that is invariably exhibited at our lay conventions, congregational as well as local and national, as conclusive evidence that American Jewry is consistently and vigorously ardent. The annual or biennial convocations of our laity fairly glow with religious zeal and intensity of loyalty, but like temperamental fireflies that follow up each flash with a long interval of blank darkness, only too many of the delegates to these gatherings are found

within a short time after returning to their homes to have spent all their enthusiasm in one consummate and heroic effort. That there is much genuine sincerity and magnificent *esprit de corps* displayed on such occasions, few will deny, what is to be denied is that the ardor manifested under such auspices is a true index to the religious condition of American Jewry in general, and what is to be pitied and altered is the fact that there are all too few opportunities afforded our people for the display of that vigorous enthusiasm. Its splendor is only equalled by its transitoriness, for as most of us here assembled can testify, within a short time the fire of eager devotion that kindled the hearts of the delegates has by degrees flickered and smouldered, the wave of religious fervor has spent itself and disappeared, the elation and determination and resolve have melted away, and the rabbi who was in the seventh heaven of joy at witnessing during convention week the magnificent religious spirit of his congregants, finds to his sad disappointment a few months later that that very ardor upon which he had based his expectations for a spiritual rehabilitation of his community has "disappointed him like mountain streams, like water-courses that pass away."

If we look to the life about us for an explanation of this low ebb of religious interest our attention is forcibly drawn to the inescapable fact that we are living in an age when materialism has reached a pinnacle of exaltation but rarely before achieved in all history. Physical science and mechanical genius, laboratory research and inventive enterprise have not alone dared to penetrate into regions long regarded with awe as the domain of heaven, but have come away from their expeditions staggering under the precious booty of their astounding conquests. Scientists have rushed in where for centuries saints feared to tread; like Jacob wrestling with the angel, modern science has dared repeatedly to close with mysteries long whispered of with dread and fear, and with each successive encounter it is wrestling greater blessings for humanity, and regretfully enough, it is fast losing its sense of relative importance. The axe is vaunting its superiority over him who wields it. Science, created of the head, is losing its head; Galileo and Darwin are vindicated far better than they

could dream of, for this age that glorifies Reason and pays homage to her prime-minister Science, has with impish poetic justice avenged them upon the organized religion that stood athwart their path for centuries and prejudiced the minds of men against their teachings.

And added to this materialistic tendency of our age, and the imagined disharmony between science and religion that confuses many men in their thinking, another factor for the lack of religious interest in the world today is the chaos and turmoil, mental even more than physical, that coexisted with the war and have remained as its most sinister legacy. Whether as an emphatic reaction from the rigid discipline of war, or whether as a survival of atavistic characteristics unleashed during the conflict,—the cause is of secondary consideration—the fact is so apparent that he who runs may read of the lamentable collapse in every avenue of life of the guiding hand of authority.

No phase of social activity and no aspect of organized society had eluded this spirit of reckless self-sufficiency and disparagement of external controlling agencies—in the home it appears in the form of lessened parental authority, in the school it kicks over the traces of traditional educational theories, in the state its most flagrant manifestation appears in the ubiquitous violation of the 18th amendment, and in religion it culminates in a rash gospel of bold individualism, a deliberate disavowal of the claims of tradition and established usage, and a stubborn rebelliousness against forms, creeds, doctrines and dogmas.

These two factors then, the glorification of science and materialism and the lack of respect for all forms of authority, may be held largely responsible for the religious indifference so prevalent today. And to these two, which may be said to apply generally to all religions, we might in the case of reform Judaism add a third, as militating specifically against its particular well-being.

This third demoralizing factor, (which a strict regard for logical classification might force somewhere within the scope of the two mentioned above) is in my humble estimation a too disproportionate emphasis on the part of reform Judaism, on the

purely intellectual aspect of religion. Reform, in its anxiety to liberate Judaism from the inbreeding, narrow, legalistic confines which for centuries limited its horizons, cramped its natural growth, perverted its intent and obscured its most worthwhile qualities, reform in freeing the modern Jew from the demeaning straight-jacket of medieval ritualism, has threatened to overreach itself and lose the Jew in seeking Judaism.

We have done our work, at least a very important part of it, only too well. We have inveighed against ritualism with such successful vehemence that some of our services are so denuded of Jewishness as to render them difficult of religious classification. Instead of ministering to Jewish congregations most of us orate to audiences composed of Jews. It is notorious that our people go to Temple not so much to pray as to be entertained by the rhetoric and eloquence of the rabbi. The sermon is the crown and climax of the service, the ritual is tolerated, but regarded for the most part as interfering and annoying. Prayer is rapidly becoming a lost art in reform Jewish temples. Though it is unquestionably true that "nothing human is alien to Judaism"—as we have so often been told—it is to be regretted that most reform rabbis have so vigorously championed the intellectualistic and rationalistic elements of religion and life, and so deplorably neglected to stress the emotional and mystic springs of faith, that to-day we are witnessing the anomalous spectacle of the historic synagogue of our fathers, in which emotional fervor and spiritual intensity were wont to rush forth with irresistible warmth and passionate exaltation, transformed only too frequently into a sort of non-descript sectarian auditorium in which thinking has been exchanged for feeling, attention cultivated for devotion, facts substituted for faith, and politics, pure ethics, literary and dramatic criticism have crowded out prayer and meditation and communion with God and the soul.

It is not my desire to exaggerate or overestimate this academic aspect of the reform synagogue, merely for the purpose of this paper, and for that reason I would not be understood as saying that reform Judaism has decreed the abolition of emotion and emotion-expressing forms and ceremonies from the religious life

of the Jew. That we have never done, nor ever desired to do. What I do believe, however, is that we have laid entirely too much stress upon the purely intellectual side of religion, and paid altogether too scant attention to its emotional content. It must be admitted that not all reform rabbis have pursued this policy, there are many conspicuous exceptions, but at best they do not aggregate more than a scant minority.

Reform has never abolished the Sabbath nor the holydays nor prayer, nor fasting, nor certain home ceremonies, it is true, but it *has inveighed* against the menace and inutility of ritualism and ceremony in general so vehemently as to place these and similar vehicles of religious expression under such mistrust and strong suspicion of obsolescence as to render their observance by our people either a matter of supreme indifference or of inconsequential validity.

So effectively have we decried ceremony and observance as to make *all* ceremonies and customs, bugaboos and impostors. How can we expect our people to attend the ceremony of divine worship, for example, when we ourselves disparage the value of all ceremonies? How can we expect them to rear their children Jewishly, to have their homes vibrant with an all-pervading Jewish consciousness, to make their lives hallowed with all the wealth of mystic beauty that inheres in our historic heritage—how can we demand these things when we are forever rebelling against forms and creeds and customs and ceremonies, laying all emphasis on such vague ideas as “religious values” and “ethical precepts” and “moral duties” and “eternal verities”? In our zealous determination to pull back Judaism from the false tangent into which sacerdotalism and rabbinism forced it, we have tugged so vigorously as to have swung its direction almost equally as wide of the mark on the opposite side. So widespread has this tendency become that unless we modify our course, it may be altogether likely that we shall at a not remote day find that we have constructed for ourselves, out of the elements of logic and reason a kind of intellectual *golem*, which with relentless and unfeeling ruthlessness shall annihilate the last vestige of religious mysticism and poetic symbolism, crush out whatever cannot stand solely on the merits

of ratiocination and unadulterated reason, and leave behind only a rigid, savorless, dry as dust stalk of cold theological and ethical principles, devoid of all charm and grace, and beauty and poetry, as a parsimonious spiritual diet for Jewish souls that once rejoiced in a spirit-garden of the most exquisite beauty.

Although all that has been said in the preceding pages applies to the problem of Jewish religious life taken as a whole, its relation to the particular subject that this paper is presumed to treat is altogether fundamental and vital. While the secular education of the young can be planned, in great measure, without serious concern over their habitual environment and antecedents, *no program or curriculum for the religious* development of children dare neglect for a moment the supremely important factor of home influence and example. To plan the spiritual unfoldment of a child without first giving careful consideration to its environment, particularly its home environment, is as hazardous and short-sighted a policy as to set about the cultivation of a single branch of a tree without paying the slightest attention to the roots and trunk from which that branch emerges. In both instances, success is possible, but only remotely probable. Now and then a Luther Burbank can achieve the miraculous in the case of the branch, but rabbinical Burbanks are not only much rarer than horticultural ones but the factors with which they are called upon to deal are of such incomparably greater value, that they dare not so calmly face the possibility of failure in precarious spiritual experimentation. The religious school gets a chance at the child for only about two hours a week, in a few isolated instances, so rare as to be practically negligible, for four or possibly six hours. What are two hours of religious instruction—using the term in its most inclusive sense—what are two hours per week of religious instruction 8 or 9 months of the year, when compared with the remaining 166 hours of the week, the greater part of which the child spends at home, and all of which, even the 2 hours in the Sabbath school, is spent under the dominant influence of the home? The tremendous part that home influence plays in the moulding of the character of the child has already been so fully and so ably discussed by authorities on religious training, among whom

none have excelled in excellence of presentation many of the group here present, that it is unnecessary further to emphasize that aspect of the question. It is of prime import however, that we bear steadily in mind that if the Jewish child is to be influenced *Jewishly*, if he is to develop *Jewishly*, if he is to be distinguished from the Ethical Culturist by a spiritual transfiguration rather than mere circumstance of birth and from the liberal Christian by an all pervading consciousness of his unique affinity with Israel's God, with Israel's Faith, with Israel's Past and with Israel's Destiny, rather than by the superficial externality of Semitic physiognomic configuration, then must any and every program, which seeks to rehabilitate today whatever sound Jewish values served Judaism in the past, (always allowing, of course, for modernity of interpretation) aim with daring ambition at a fundamental regeneration of *all* American Reform Jewry. It must steadily keep in mind that the spiritual development of the *Children of our faith* is only a *part* of that larger work, that *its* success is always contingent upon and qualified by the success of the larger work, and it must visualize the problem of the juvenile not as constituting an wholly independent and discrete perplexity, but only as a vitally important phase of the paramount problem of religionizing and consecrating and reclaiming for Judaism the Jewish home.

No program for making Judaism an effective life force can have the slightest chance of success, unless it recognizes the tremendous religious value of ceremonies and ceremonial observance. A religion void of ceremony, built up only upon rationalism, is a paradox, not a religion. Religion is not an intellectual or even an ecclesiastical theory, but a far off and remote vision of the soul, which grows stronger in intensity and richer in colorfulness through deep emotional experience, and expresses itself concretely in visible acts patterned after the beauty of that vision. Imagination creates it, reason refines it, but mysticism identifies the individual with it. No system of beliefs and no catalog of principles can compass the scope of Judaism; at best such an array of doctrines can only present its logical justification and necessity. Theology is only a statement of the theoretical implications of religion,

ceremonies, rightly conceived, are vocal with its feelings and aspirations, its yearnings and gropings, its poetry and charm, its passionate ecstasy and growing warmth. As the flash of lightning and the starry heavens are eloquent of God's presence in creation, so religious symbols and ceremonies, can be graphically illustrative of the moving force of spirituality in man.

The late Dr. Schechter of blessed memory once remarked in an address in which he warned against a too credulous acceptance of the theories of Biblical Criticism, that our old grandmothers, who read the Psalms and had a good cry over them, understood their meaning far better than any of the modern exegetes. And it is sometimes to be wondered whether that pious old patriarch in his ramshackle tenement, who speeds the parting Sabbath on its way with prayer and melody and symbol while the very gates of heaven open up before his enthralled spirit, has not more of genuine Jewishness in him than can be found in some entire congregations of our knowing.

It is quite beside the question to argue, as many do, that reform Judaism, following the path of the ancient prophets, must continue to remonstrate against the observance of ritual and ceremony. In the first place, the great literary prophets of Israel, if I understand their message aright, never denounced ceremonies purely *qua* ceremonies. What they did condemn and what we should continue to oppose with all vehemence, is the false notion that ceremonies alone, regardless of personal conduct and moral inclination constitute all religion and circumscribe the full compass of the religious life.

And in the second place, the conditions in reform Jewry which confront us today are so totally different from those which confronted the prophets, as to make any such comparison absurd. The prophets struggled with a people that held fast to the belief in the vicarious power of sacrifice. Reform Jews today entertain no such illusions. The religion of the age of the prophets was hide-bound with the trappings of cult and ritual and form, ours is spiritually refrigerated with cold intellectualism and rationalism and theology and logic.

These two irreconcilable factors alone, to say nothing of the

countless other dissimilarities that twenty-seven hundred years have wrought would suffice to invalidate any such reference.

It should be, however, the genius of reform to effect a happy synthesis of the two extremes of slavish ceremonialism and pure reason, to interpret the one through the medium of the other, to strip ancient rite of its magic potency and infuse modern rationalism with appealing imagery. First in the home through the pulpit, then in the school through the teacher.

The question of which ceremonies should be inculcated and which should be avoided need not present any great difficulty. Devotions, public and private, prayers before and after meals, Sabbath-eve customs and holyday symbols and practices, and other forms possessing spiritual potentiality should again be utilized for the hallowing and enriching of life. New vehicles of expressing religious sentiment can be created where necessary, old ones must be reinterpreted to fulfil present day needs. The past should be treated with reverence, not for its own sake, nor for the sake of the past, but for the sake of a present so secure and enriched that it will create a yet better future.

As for the method of instruction, it must first of all be permeated with *sincerity*. No one is quicker than the child to detect and despise cant and sham in a teacher. The teacher must be imbued with the historic spirit of Judaism, vibrant with an all pervading Jewish consciousness, convinced of the high religious value of ceremonial instruction and able intelligently to present in modern fashion the beauty and reverence that inheres in ritual and symbol. One of the great faults with most Sunday School methods of teaching, says a modern critic, is that the minds of the pupils are treated as if they were badgers' pits. You put in the badger and you put in the dog, and you wait to see which comes out first. We have thrown in the catechism and some biblical history and later they throw in the chemical theory and Darwinism, and we wait to see whether the youth will turn out a Jew or an atheist. Such pedagogical gambling must cease. Never should a child be deluded into accepting the counterfeit currency of specious explanation. With a strict regard for truth and a sympathetic heart for beauty, with a genuine appreciation of *faith* and a

sincere respect for reason the young of Israel should be tutored in devout and intelligent ceremonialism.

If we believe in the effectiveness of the Jew as a religious instrument and would have the rising generation attached in purity, in fidelity, in reverence and devotion to our historic faith, if we would preserve our distinctive Jewishness and priestly consecration, if we would mould the lives of our boys and girls Jewishly, then we must rehabilitate and foster religious ceremonials. For, to quote Dr. Kohler: "Ceremonies are the educators and monitors of the people. They speak to young and old, to sage and simple-minded alike the language of faith, of hope and of loyalty."

THE AIM OF A CURRICULUM FOR JEWISH RELIGIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS

HARVEY E. WESSEL

Upon the invitation of the Chairman of the Committee on Religious Education of the Conference to prepare a paper for presentation at this session, a subject relating to the vexed question and personal problem of a curriculum for Jewish religious high schools immediately suggested itself. In my need during the past year I was concerned about the lack of suitable material for study, and I missed even a plan or outline that revealed any clear purpose for the upper classes of religious schools. The two post-confirmation classes, which I found organized but practically aimless when I entered upon new duties at the beginning of the last school year, came of necessity under my own instruction and served at the same time as objects of an experiment in the application of an aim that seemed to me befitting the instruction which is offered in the High School Departments of Jewish Religious Schools. In view of the consideration which the Conference is this day giving to a religious school curriculum, the theme in hand is timely and appropriate.

It is my purpose to point out the need of an approach to instruction in the High School classes different in aim and intent from the approach in the pre-confirmation grades. In brief the difference is this: Whereas instruction in the grades, based as it may be on a social theory of education, has as its chief aim the development of personality and the personal virtues, instruction in the High School classes should extend farther so as to awaken the social conscience and stimulate responsible kinship with the great society of mankind.

THE HIGH SCHOOL IS INTERMEDIATE

There are, generally speaking, three stages through which the Jewish child passes in his years of schooling. They may be designated Pre-confirmation, Post-confirmation and Collegiate. In the first period, in the earlier years of attendance at the religious school, the child is amenable to guidance in Jewish practices and shows a genuine affection for teachers, taste for the lesson and a lively school spirit. Defection may often be noticed when the child enters the second stage, either shortly before Confirmation or soon thereafter. In part this is due to the consciousness of growth and of passage beyond the concerns of the Sunday School which are generally conceived to be with childhood and to a limited extent with adolescence. Confirmation, which has meant Completion, should take on more of the character of Commencement. Too long have Post-confirmation classes been inspired by the rabbinical aim merely to "hold" the children by any means at all, and these rarely pedagogic. Were the High School to open up a new field of study that challenged the interest of confirmants and invited them with the appeal of expectancy and anticipation to enter the High School upon graduation from the preparatory department, zeal would not slacken at this critical point. Eagerness to know what lay ahead—the identical stimulus of graduation from public school to high school, from high school to college—would then afford the necessary propulsion of interest. The aim of a curriculum for Jewish High Schools thus first has reference to transition from childhood to adolescence, from one social position in the religious school to another, and in the second place recognizes the extension of the individual pupil's social contacts to the wider associations represented by college and the realms to which college leads. The High School Department is, then, properly intermediate.

SUBJECT-MATTER SHOULD BE RELATED TO SOCIAL
EXPERIENCE

The point of prime importance in the consideration of a High School curriculum is the social outlook of the pupil. It should be

clear that the instruction offered should bear a direct relation to life as it is being lived by the young person,—that is, to the number and nature of the social contacts which have been established or are being established. The latter are the more vital. Loss of interest in the Sunday School is of course to be attributed to the fact that no longer is the child mainly the creature of home and Jewish environment when he reaches the age of confirmation. The Sunday School, which succeeded in keeping pace with the extension of child activity in the pre-confirmation grades, has ceased striking contact with the enlarging scope of associations in the post-confirmation years. Study in the day school is far removed from the matter to which his attention is coaxed in the Sunday School, and life on the street, which is quick with enthusiasms, contrasts with the palor of the life that he is reviewing in the class room. It does not suffice to continue the methods of the pre-confirmation classes into the post-confirmation because the door to a larger social life stands open.

TWO USES OF HISTORICAL SUBJECT-MATTER

The great personalities of the Bible possess charm for the child in his tender years not so much because they are models on which he can pattern his own life, but rather because their strange ways hold the fascination for him of folk lore and twice-told tales. Being neither reflective nor self-conscious, the child takes eagerly into his imaginative experience the whole story from Creation to Joshua. The careers of David and Solomon make a strong appeal to the imagination. The later Kings and the Prophets must be reduced to child stature in order to exemplify the personal virtues. But Post-Biblical history is not successfully taught "through great personalities" because the attention of the young pupil is shifting from the personal point of view to the social. As the individual becomes more broadly socialized so must become the treatment of historical matter. *No real benefit comes to the pupil of the post-confirmation classes from the study of the lives of individuals unless the social medium in which these great men lived is reconstructed to conform to the social relationships of the pupil himself.* The child employs his imaginative faculties with the aid

of the teacher in making the necessary adjustments of subject-matter to his life. But to the adolescent life is becoming ever more real and more earnest. Consequently, "history" must be made to breathe with the very life of the growing young person.

A CRITICISM OF OTHER AIMS

Courses in Jewish Pride for the High School are insufficient. He is not a lovely person who takes too seriously the self-glorification which is imparted in lessons on Jewish contributions to civilization. As religious education, the vaunting of self by means of the exaltation of fellow Jews is harmful rather than helpful. *Useful propaganda is useless pedagogy.* The method of cultivating loyalty to the Jewish people and Jewish institutions by allowing young and old to bask in the reflected glory of Jews who have gained prominence by political or financial activity has been employed in pulpit and school *ad nauseam*. Either the young person swallows whole the instruction as given and boasts of the superiority of the Jewish people—in the compensatory pride of the despised and rejected of men—or, if he be at all critically and socially minded, he will rebel at the undue emphasis of partisanship and withdraw altogether from such unsocial, irreligious influences. *The true aim of the High School is to prepare the individual for a place in the large community.* The High School should provide intermediate training. When world literature, world history, and world affairs are being discovered by awakened and receptive minds, Jewish life, culture and problems must be considered according to their proportionate values. However important Jewish questions may be to Jews, they should be correlated with general questions and subordinated to a world view. Pre-occupation of Jewish leaders with Jewish affairs and consequent loss of perspective show only "vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself, and falls on the other." Jewish history and religion, suggestive of noble impulses as they are, yet merely assist the spiritual development of the young American Jew. The part may not be taken for the whole, and will not be by eager and inquiring youth. The task of the High School is to fit the part to the whole by a nice adjustment. The time for this adjustment is when the ad-

justment is actually being attempted, with or without assistance,—in the post-confirmation or pre-collegiate period. For, then, social contacts are multiplying in the life of the wide-eyed, sophisticated youth of these United States. Let us be forehanded, not behindhand, in the business of winning youth for the synagogue.

This is a statement of the attitude of mind I bring to an exposition of a theory and an aim for the curriculum of a Jewish Religious High School. *The aim is socialization based on communal organization.*

THE APPLICATION OF THE AIM TO THE FIRST YEAR

The rite of confirmation means, for one thing, that the young person assumes, thereby, duties and obligations to the synagogue. But otherwise, the young person is granted at confirmation the privileges of association in the synagogal life. In keeping with this new dignity, two primary questions are in order: Why do we have synagogues? and how did the synagogue of which a particular first high school class is a part come to be established? Every synagogue is founded upon a communal need and continues as long as the need is present. The synagogue in its very name suggests a form of association. Into the corporation is admitted each new generation and accorded rights of participation. The individual contributes to, and derives from, the organized life of the community a measure of personality. Thus is personality developed and expressed. Expansion of personality begins with confirmation and is attended by similar processes in other than religious and synagogal relationships. Many communities of long standing have traditions of their own, of which the yearly initiates become recipients and continuing factors. Working in just such a community, accordingly I undertook to study with the first class of the high school department the history of the Jewish settlement in Maryland and Baltimore. Of immediate interest was the inception of Har Sinai Congregation and its history to the present time. The discussion naturally led to relations at the beginning and since with other congregations and Jewish institutions in the city. My aim as teacher was to bring to actuality, and make operative upon the pupil, the social forces inherent in the congregation and com-

munity. *It is the aim, according to a social theory of education, to bring to consciousness the realities of existing standards.* My material was a living thing: The Community. The community, past and present, was made to live. A study of other large Jewish centers followed,—New York, Charleston, S. C., Newport, Cincinnati. Any discussion of individuals of note was thus set off against a social back-ground, and the story of the Jew in America was studied by communities. Communities were seen to have points of similarity and difference. The similarity was due to the elements of homogeneity in the settlers themselves; the difference arose from the varying conditions of life in one part of the country and in another. Knowledge of their own community permitted appreciation by the pupils of the similarity and the difference. The point of view was consistently Jewish and the outlook broadly general and inclusive. The history of the Jew in America was part of, not detached from, American history which the young people were studying in the secular schools. *The particular aim of the first year was to establish the "locus standi," or place in society, thereby enhancing the power of place.*

THE APPLICATION OF THE AIM TO THE SECOND YEAR

Carrying the general aim into the second year of the high school, I moved backward historically for the sake of penetrating inquiry into the roots of the American Jewish communities. The break-up of ghetto life and Jewish cultural unity in Europe was the starting point. The Napoleonic upheaval, enlightenment and self-emancipation were antecedents which drove Jews along all the pathways of modern life. The religious, cultural and economic changes which took place early in the nineteenth century amounted to nothing less than a revolution and a reformation. With certain effects of these in sight as the result of a study of Jewish settlements in America, the history as thus treated was not a resurrection of the dead; it lived with present significance. Reform Judaism is so conspicuously the product of social forces which operated in Europe that some such study as this is indispensable to the making of an informed reformed Jew. Not only that, but Reform Judaism has a social message by reason of the

combination of circumstance and genius that gave it birth. The main currents of social life in the nineteenth century affected the Jews in such a way that the great questions of then and now might be tested and understood by their bearing upon Jewish communal existence. International finance and international socialism, nationalism and internationalism, war and peace, social stratification and democracy—what part had Jews in the provocation and solution of these problems? *Judaism is inextricably bound up with the situations that divided Israel into blocs on national lines, and simultaneously united Israelites across national boundaries into a national unit.* So was an unprecedented diversity introduced into the spiritual life of widely scattered communities. Place was substituted for race, and communities multiplied the ancient unity. Jews, like other peoples, take on the characteristics of lands and cities in which they live, losing universal characteristics. Communities of Jews, unlike other peoples, perhaps, create for themselves uniqueness. *The course of instruction in the second year of the high school amplifies the instruction of the first by giving causes for the establishment of the home community, and demonstrates the vital reality of Jewish life to be the same at home as in Jewish communities from Jamnia of old, through the ages and around the world, to Tel Aviv today.*

THE APPLICATION OF THE AIM TO THE THIRD YEAR

Although I did not have an opportunity to carry my experiment to higher classes, the plan which I formulated tentatively reached an objective for the third and fourth years. Suitable to the third year of the high school is an advanced study of Jewish post-Biblical history to the beginning of the modern era. The subject-matter of the curriculum is the History of the Wandering Jewish Community,—a title suggestive of the individualistic Legend of the Wandering Jew, but altered in consideration of the social aim which I am recommending for the high school course. The pupil, having nothing but the simple and incomplete presentation of post-Biblical history, which was offered in the late preconfirmation grades, upon which to depend for information, requires additional instruction from a different point of view. A

parallel to the wandering in the wilderness of the earliest Israelites is the fascinating and dramatic story of the wandering which began with the destruction of the Temple. The account of the succession of communities to hegemony in Jewry lends itself to easy treatment in a communal interpretation of Jewish life. Alexandria, Babylon, Spain, Holland, Poland, Germany, Russia and America succeed one another, each possessed of a distinction which indicates the vital and perennial factor in survival, namely, *a harmonization of traditional Jewish spirit and culture with exotic and circumambient cultures, and an adjustment under great difficulty to a strange environment without loss of identity. Talmudists, philosophers and poets will live for the class when they are presented as representatives or antagonists of communities as they could not were they portrayed simply as gifted individual idealists.* A review of biblical history and preparation for teaching in the pre-confirmation grades may supplement the work of this class, as was suggested by Rabbi Louis Mann at the Convention of the U. A. H. C. last January.

THE APPLICATION OF THE AIM TO THE FOURTH YEAR

In adequate fulfilment of the aim I would set for Jewish High Schools, and as a culmination of their task to mediate between the Jewish heritage and general culture in the adaptation of Jewish youth to the religio-spiritual thought and feeling of his age, I believe that *the curriculum for the last year should call for a consideration of the programs and aspirations of the liberal social idealists.* Nothing short of an honest presentation of the perplexities which agitate the minds of men, in and out of the pulpit, who are struggling and yearning for justice, righteousness and peace in social relationships will do to retain the enthusiasm of youth for religion and his allegiance to religious institutions, once he has gone off to college or away from the religious school. The thirst and hunger for religion that we hear so much of will not be satisfied by the traditional religions which adhere to ancient ideals and symbols which do not express modern needs. In this connection let me quote rather freely Elisha M. Friedman in his "America and the New Era—A Symposium on Social Reconstruc-

tion": "The God idea has grown with the development of civilization. In a democratic age, the Eternal Force that makes for righteousness is conceived as 'the ever continuing Creator with whom man co-operates.' Leuba calls the love of life at any and every level of development the religious impulse. Modern religion does not diminish our faith. The belief in the immanent One is being strengthened by researches in the nature of matter and energy. Modern religious thought and social philosophy place perfection ahead, as a goal to be striven for. The old church dealt with the individual. Our spiritual effort today is concerned with the attempt to find just relations between men, between classes, between nations." If this be a fair statement of the tendencies of religious and spiritual aspiration in America, then it does not appear difficult for Jews to repeat once more the cross-fertilization of an existing and an ancient culture by which they have endured as a people. Institutions like the High School, if they seize their opportunities, may not only preserve the identity of the Jewish people, as have schools numerous times in the past, but they may become agencies of American spiritual endeavors of the future.

In an eloquent sermon, John Haynes Holmes pointed out not so long ago that certain virtues are inadequate. Charity, for example, he declares, recognizes the division of society into groups or classes, and thus defeats the ideal of brotherhood. Can we be truly virtuous and fall short anywhere in love of mankind? Our religious schools stop short at virtues that are not enough, if the social message is not conveyed to higher classes. The division between the two departments of the religious school is not unlike the division into two volumes of Jacob Wassermann's, "The World's Illusion." Christian Wahnschaffe has attained almost perfection of human personality according to conventional criteria, but *individual existence—however refined—is the world's illusion*, as shown in the second volume which reaches its climax in Christian's declaration: "I want to sink, to steep, to hide, to bury myself in the life of man. I care nothing for myself. But I would know everything about human beings, for they, you see, they are the mystery and the terror, and all that torments and affrights and

causes suffering." *Let the pre-confirmation grades cultivate the personal virtues and assist the education of individuality, but let the post-confirmation classes, or the High School, reduce the ego and socialize the individual.*

"Religious education is bound to be judged from fresh stand-points," says George Albert Coe, in "A Social Theory of Religious Education." "'Imparting' certain 'subjects of instruction' is becoming thin and threadbare as a conception of teaching. 'Inciting' to 'virtue' in general will seem flat to children who are accustomed in their daily schooling to the enrichment of concrete social experience and to participation in important specific social enterprises. Moreover, when the schools become an agency for applying human energy, instead of providing a merely general or unapplied culture, they move in the realm of life purposes in which religion has a vital interest. In particular, *education that aims to produce devotion to the social weal touches at its very heart the religion that has set out to change society into a brotherhood.*"

In the social era we are entering upon, the world is accepting the old Hebraic ideals of social justice, of freedom within the law, of continuous adaptation of religion to the realities of life. Today our justice must be more impersonal and more abstract than in former ages. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries guaranteed the individual his religious rights—liberty of conscience—but the twentieth century is guaranteeing national rights—liberty of association for expressing the group spirit in action. A system of religious education adapted to the conception that social life is organic and not mechanical is needed to achieve the newer religious ideals. Grading the subject-matter of instruction consists in introducing the child and youth, in each social situation—at home, in the school, in the community—to the material he can use and enjoy. In the strict sense the curriculum is a succession of enterprises, not a succession of subjects of instruction. Theory now moves to identify education with life.

G. A. Coe thus summarizes his theory, "A brief formulation of this theory of school organization, methods and curriculum is as follows: Social character and efficiency are to be achieved through social experience; social experience is to be had primarily through

the performance of social functions, but it may be extended through imagination in the use of well-selected and well-graded subject-matter that represents the social experience of the race; school experience is most effective educationally when the pupil experiences the least break between it and the life of the larger society."

If I were to choose a text to fit the aim of a curriculum for Jewish Religious High Schools, I would take these words from the Haggadah,

בכל דור ודור חייב אדם לראות את עצמו כאלו הוא יצא ממצרים
 "It is incumbent upon every Israelite, in every generation, to look upon himself as if he had actually gone forth out of Egypt." The Israelites, be it remembered, went forth not singly but as an ערב רב "a mixed multitude." *An identification of self with the eternal, wandering community of Israel,—which is continually interrelating itself with non-Jewish communities and the Great Society,—is the determining factor in the aim of a high school curriculum.*

H

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION

I. PRELIMINARY STATEMENT,

By DAVID PHILIPSON, CHAIRMAN

II. RECENT TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION AND THEIR
APPLICATION TO THE JEWISH SCHOOL.

By EMANUEL GAMORAN,

*Educational Director of Department
of Synagog and School Extension*

III. THE CURRICULUM OF THE JEWISH RELIGIOUS SCHOOL.

I.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

DAVID PHILIPSON

It was my privilege as Chairman of the joint Commission on Jewish Religious Educational Literature of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis to present a statement of the aims and purposes of the Commission before the Convention of the Union at New York City, in January last. It is unnecessary to repeat this statement before this company. I take it for granted that the members of the Rabbinical Conference, each and every one of whom is vitally concerned with the problem of the religious education of our chil-

dren and our youth, has kept himself fully informed of the efforts which have been put forth towards the solution of that problem. However, before I offer the report of the achievements of the Commission during the past year, I beg permission to call your attention to several vital points touched upon in that report.

In the statement presented to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations referred to above, I opened with a brief historical résumé of Jewish religious educational organization among us. That résumé defined the enlarging purpose of our joint Commission as indicated by the various changes in the naming of the Commission, which was designated first Board of Editors of Sabbath School Literature, a year later Board of Editors of Religious School Literature, and then several years thereafter the Commission on Jewish Religious Educational Literature. All these names indicated that the joint body concerned itself chiefly, if not altogether, with the editing and publication of text books and other literature for our religious schools. At a meeting of the Commission held subsequent to the January Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, another change of name was decided upon, which is very suggestive of the enlarged scope of its work which the Commission lays before you in its present accounting. By this change the Commission now passes under the style and title "Commission on Jewish Education." This change of name is very significant. It indicates that the Commission is no longer merely a board of editors for the publication of literature for religious schools, but that it now proposes to envisage the entire field of Jewish religious education and will consider any and all matters incident thereto.

The first product of this enlarged scope appears in the curriculum for elementary and secondary religious schools, which the Commission lays before this meeting. This Curriculum, prepared by Drs. Slonimsky and Gamoran and discussed in its every detail by the members of the Commission, and considerably modified, is presented to you for your earnest consideration. It is manifestly impossible for such a detailed Curriculum to be discussed without adequate study. The Commission therefore suggests that the same course be followed here as was taken by the

Conference in the matter of the revision of the Union Prayer Book, namely, that every member of the Conference, having been provided with a copy of the Curriculum, shall be requested to send suggestions and corrections to the Secretary of the Commission by a certain date to be fixed by the Conference, that these suggestions and corrections be tabulated, that the Commission hold a meeting for the consideration of these suggestions and corrections, and that the Curriculum as finally fixed be then issued as the joint product of the Conference and the Union.

The Commission believes that a great step forward has been taken by the securing of the services of Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, a graduate of the Teachers' College of Columbia University, who has specialized in Jewish Religious Education. He has been engaged as Director of Religious Education by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. This is the first time that the joint Commission, since its creation in 1911, has had such expert help at its service. We consider ourselves very fortunate in having been able to secure a young man of such ability, earnestness and enthusiasm as Dr. Gamoran. The members of the Conference will be given the opportunity of judging of his capability and his fitness for the task when they will hear Dr. Gamoran's paper on the Progress and Present Status of Jewish Religious Education, which is made a portion of the Commission's report and which I will ask Dr. Gamoran to read in a few moments.

I beg leave to present herewith a résumé of the activities of the joint Commission during the past year.

A STATEMENT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission on Jewish Religious Educational Literature, now The Commission on Jewish Education, reports a year of gratifying activity and progress.

The Commission held four meetings during the past year: at Baltimore, Md., on November 26 and 27, 1922; at New York, January 25, 1923; again at New York, on April 10 and 11, 1923, and May 28 and 29, 1923, at Cincinnati.

The preparation of a curriculum, which has occupied the attention of the Commission for a number of years, has finally been

concluded, and we are glad to present to this meeting of the Conference a comprehensive curriculum adopted by the Commission.

In addition to the curriculum, the Commission is happy to announce the preparation of an exhibit of Jewish Religious Educational material for this Conference. The plan of the exhibit was prepared by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, Director of Religious Education for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, while the exhibit proper was prepared by the staff of the Department of Synagog and School Extension.

The Commission has recognized the fact that we are not devoting a sufficient amount of time to the religious education of our children. At its meeting in New York on April 11, 1923, our Commission adopted the following resolution:

“Resolved: That this Commission in planning a detailed curriculum for the Jewish religious school of comprehensive scope, is unanimous in the conviction that a week-day session will have to be added to the present Sunday session in building up a system of religious education that shall be adequate to our needs. And this Commission urges upon the rabbinate and the congregations of this country that such an arrangement for additional instruction be adopted in all our religious schools.”

The Commission wishes to take this opportunity of stressing the need of more time for religious education. The curriculum as presented to this Conference was prepared in the hope that at least one additional session will be arranged during the week, increasing the total number of hours of instruction to three and one-half or four hours a week.

The necessity for publishing a magazine for the teachers of our Jewish Religious Schools has long been recognized. The Commission resolved to undertake to publish such a magazine dealing with the theoretical as well as the practical issues of religious education. A committee of the Commission has the matter in hand at the present time and will report at a subsequent meeting.

We have been requested from time to time to appoint a committee which shall be charged with the task of examining the films prepared by various companies for the use of Jewish Religious Schools. In accordance with these requests the Commission appointed a Board of Censors for Moving Pictures. At the last meeting of the Commission the Board of Censors was requested to prepare a report containing a detailed statement concerning all the films listed by The National Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures Co., a company which is engaged in preparing films for Jewish Religious Schools.

In response to a request from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations our Commission took up for consideration the problem of constructing a program of Religious Education and Organization for Jewish young men and women. At the last meeting of the Commission a committee was appointed "to consider and formulate a plan for the organization of our Jewish youth from fourteen years and upwards, in order to further their moral and spiritual life." This committee has been authorized to call to its assistance the services of experts who have specialized in this direction.

In the course of the last season we have received suggestions from several sources, including the President of this Conference, with reference to the advisability of publishing a well-illustrated Children's Bible. It will interest the members of the Conference to know that at the last meeting of the Commission a committee was appointed to inquire into the feasibility of bringing this about.

During the year the Commission has examined a number of manuscripts and has accepted a number of them, which have been published or are in process of publication. It is hoped that Rabbi Reichler's Hebrew Manual, Part 3, will be ready for distribution at the beginning of the coming season.

Particular attention is called to a very important publication which the Commission has just issued, namely, Mrs. Levinger's "Jewish Festivals in the Religious School—A Handbook for Entertainments." It is hoped that this book will meet with a hearty reception on the part of rabbis and superintendents of Religious Schools, who have long been looking for a book that would give

them in a clear and comprehensive manner suggestions for programs for the Jewish holidays.

The spirit in which the Commission has labored is best illustrated in the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Commission and included as a foreword to the curriculum, which is herewith presented for your consideration. The resolution reads as follows:

"While the curriculum presented herewith covers only the elementary and the high school period, the Commission desires to stress the fact that no program of Jewish religious education is complete if it does not encourage and embrace classes for adults. The progressive enlightenment of the adult is both the foundation and the capstone of the structure of religious education. Its absence often forms a serious hindrance to the religious training of the young. The Commission hopes that some day it may be able to supplement the present curriculum with a program of Jewish religious education for adult men and women."

And now in closing, may I, as Chairman of the Commission, urge the encouragement of the members of the Conference for the Commission's work. The Commission represents the spirit of co-operation between the Union and the Conference. All the members of the Commission, even though appointed by the Union, are members of the Conference. I know that the Commission has been the target of much criticism by members of the Conference. Granted that some of this criticism was justified, pray let bygones be bygones. I believe fully that the Commission during the past twelve-month has gone decidedly forward. Four fully attended sessions which were held during the year, the completion of the curriculum, the plans for a teachers' magazine, the urging of a lengthened period of instruction may be cited in proof of this. Doubtless there will still be things to criticise, but with the criticism let there be combined a spirit of co-operation and helpfulness. There is nothing of greater importance than the religious education of our children and our youth. This calls for the sympathetic working together of all our forces, the Conference,

the Union, the expert educational advisers, and all the individual members of the Conference. The work is great. True, we are not expected to finish it, but neither are we at liberty to neglect it. It is worthy of our best efforts. So, then, in sympathy and mutual helpfulness let us address ourselves to the great task.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman.*

II

RECENT TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION AND THEIR
APPLICATION TO THE JEWISH SCHOOL

EMANUEL GAMORAN,

*Educational Director, Department of Synagog and School
Extension*

I. THE TENDENCY TO INTRODUCE PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY

The history of education in general reveals two prevalent educational aims: the development of the individual and the preservation of the social heritage of the group and the group life which fosters it and develops it. The ultimate aim is the individual—the child. It is his original nature that is to be developed, to be modified or to be directed. We often summarize this aim by saying that we want to develop as fully as possible the character of the individual.

In view of the fact that character development greatly depends upon training in religion and morals, we have made training in these the chief content of the instruction in our religious schools. Granted that character development is one of the fundamental aims of the religious school, it is our duty to discover the best means of attaining this aim. We must seek the guidance of a sound educational theory in the attempt to solve our problem.

The practice in many schools for many years and in some schools to this day has been based on the assumption that knowledge will lead to action. Teach a boy what constitutes the ethical life and he will live the ethical life. No greater mistake in method could possibly be made. To assume that knowledge insures conduct is as naive as to assume that a person can develop into a genius by being told stories of the lives of geniuses. Religion and morality can not be taught directly, especially to children.

"A man may know the rules of conduct perfectly and yet be immoral. He may recite a creed or pass examination in theology and yet be irreligious. Too much of our time and energy has been used in developing the knowing side in religion and morals, while the conduct and the emotions have received but secondary attention. . . . Because instruction in morals and in religion is so often given as mere classroom exercises, as a matter of books and memory, it often happens that such instruction does not influence conduct."¹

Conduct is essentially a result of the development of desirable responses to situations confronting an individual. Character development is attained when the individual responds to every situation that confronts him in a manner consistent with the welfare of the highest group, assuming that all the consequences of his action could be foreseen. Character development rests, therefore, on the formation of habits of correct response. One of the best means of education in character is, therefore, to increase the frequency of desirable responses and to make these responses pleasurable. In the words of James, "It is not in the moment of their forming, but in the moment of their producing motor effects, that resolves and aspirations communicate the new 'set' to the brain. . . . Lie in wait rather for the practical opportunities, be prompt to seize those as they pass, and thus at one operation get your pupils both to think, to feel, and to do. The strokes of behavior are what give the new set to the character, and work the good habits into its organic tissue. Preaching and talking too soon become an ineffectual bore."²

If the principles of psychology mentioned in these quotations are correct, it is activity that enables children to form habits. The task of the curriculum maker in the Jewish religious school is, therefore, one of selecting desired responses. After these are selected he should then proceed to arrange these in a series of activities in which the children may engage. By engaging in these activities the children will be making specific responses to specific situations. If the situations are properly selected and the responses correctly made under the supervision of an intelligent,

¹ Norsworthy and Whitley: *Psychology of Childhood*, p. 242.

² James, W.: *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*, pp. 70-71.

well-trained teacher, correct habits of action—the basis of morality—will have been formed.

But the responses which an individual makes are not only to situations that have already previously occurred in his life. If the individual were always confronted with situations which he had already met in the past, and if he himself did not change, the problem of education would be less complex than it is. The same individual confronted with exactly the same situation would make exactly the same response that he had made when, on a previous occasion, the situation confronted him. As a matter of fact, the process of life is one which constantly changes both the individual and the environment. He changes and the situation changes.

What, then, does recent psychology teach us with regard to controlling the responses of the individual when situations arise involving totally new elements? The response can not come with the same automatism which accompanies a simple habit. There is involved the process of taking thought, of weighing various possible courses of action before a response is finally made. Such a response, too, requires training. It requires the ability to suspend judgment till all the elements in the situation have been examined. It means making a decision after all possible responses have been considered and the best response to the situation under consideration has been selected. What response one will choose depends upon many factors, but perhaps most of all upon the purpose of the individual. It is the purpose one has that constitutes the point of view from which judgment proceeds. What is a desirable response in one case may be undesirable in another if the purpose is different.

These two elements, the value of activity and the value of purpose, have in recent educational theory been expressed in one term—"the project."³ The "Project Method" is now a technical term used to designate that type of education which is based on an appreciation of the value of purposeful activity as a means of developing the individual. Life for the individual may be said to consist of ends that he constantly forms and tries to fulfil. To the extent that the ends are desirable and the individual succeeds

³ Kilpatrick, W. H.: *The Project Method*.

in developing adequate procedure for accomplishing them, to that extent he is developing his character. Since life consists of this process of forming and accomplishing ends, the best preparation for it is to engage in the formulation and execution of such ends in the school room. In short, the school should provide for a series of purposeful activities in which the child will engage. If the purposeful activities are properly selected the child will form useful habits—he will develop his character because he will have learned to make proper responses to various situations and because he will have learned to take thought before responding to a situation which involves the consideration of some new elements.

There is no doubt that the transformation of the curriculum of the Jewish school from one of subjects to one of activities purposed and engaged in by the pupils is the work of years. There is also no doubt that such a transformation is very difficult. But it can be done to some extent. The teaching of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies in the Jewish School offers an opportunity for such activity on the part of the pupils. It presents situations in which the child can purpose and execute his purposes. At the same time, by its very nature Jewish Customs and Ceremonies is a subject which offers something concrete—in contrast with most of the subjects of instruction in the Jewish school which are literary and abstract. One of the achievements of a new course of study for the Jewish school should be the introduction of the teaching of customs and ceremonies by the "Project Method." The application of the idea of the purposeful act to Jewish religious education would mean the application of one of the most significant of recent tendencies in general education.

II. THE TENDENCY TO SELECT EDUCATIONAL VALUES

Another recent tendency in education has special significance for the content of the curriculum. With the development of psychology and the increased knowledge of educational objectives, new subjects began to clamor for admission into the school. Physical education, nature study, handwork, drawing, and the practical arts have all been recognized to be of great importance and took more and more of the time of the traditional three R's.

In similar manner the Jewish school felt the need for the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum. In the old Heder, history was not considered an important subject of study. In fact as a distinct subject it did not appear in the curriculum at all. With a thoroughly intensive Jewish environment in the ghetto which assisted the formal educational institutions, history did not perform the same important function that it does today. In the same way customs and ceremonies were not studied. They were a part of the life, and as such were absorbed by the child who lived in the ghetto. But the importance of customs and ceremonies, which are the dramatic presentations of Jewish experiences and the concrete expressions of Jewish idealism in an environment that on the whole serves as a centrifugal force on Jewish life, need hardly be emphasized to an audience such as this. Similarly Jewish songs, Jewish current events, an understanding of the Jewish life that surrounds the child in his local Jewish community in his city, an acquaintance with the larger Jewish community of the Jews in America, Jewish life all over the world, has to be brought to the consciousness of the young before we can be said to perform our function as educators.

In the general school the admission of new subjects was a source of fear to many. This fear was offset by an important and fruitful idea which showed that the danger was not as great as at first glance it seemed. Studies of essentials or of "Minimum Essentials" were begun. Educators began to realize that not everything that had been taught in the traditional school was of sufficient importance. A process of selection began.

In the Jewish school especially, which has a rich past to transmit and only very few hours in which to do it, is the selection of essentials necessary. We must devise criteria of selection for determining which Jewish ideas, ideals, habits and attitudes should be selected from our Jewish heritage for transmission to our children.⁴ Such criteria of selection must reckon with two fundamental facts. On the one hand, they must reckon with the preser-

⁴ For purposes of brevity the term "values" will hereafter be used in this paper to summarize ideas, ideals, habits, attitudes, subjects—in short, anything which might constitute an element in school instruction or school activity.

vation of Jewish life. On the other hand, they must reckon with the general environment in which the Jew lives—the modern world, as well as the specific environment—America.

Even a cursory glance at some of the Jewish values will convince us that they are not all of equal value. Jewish values may be classified into two categories:

1. Humanistic values; that is, values which are of general human worth. If accepted by all people, these would result in a better state of society. A good example of this type of value is the Jewish ethical value. True enough, some of the humanistic values may have been held in a high state of consciousness by the Jewish people, but they are universal in their applicability. They apply to the human race as a whole.

2. Survival values; that is, Jewish values that have served peculiarly as a means of preserving the life of the group. As an illustration of the first, we make take the conception of justice; as an illustration of the second, we may take any of the customs and ceremonies connected with the Jewish home. It should be understood that these are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In fact, it may well be that all humanistic values are great factors for the survival of the group, especially today. But there are some values that have in Jewish life been so closely associated with the group life that they are of peculiar survival value. Jewish values in general may, therefore, be classified as humanistic values and survival values.

Survival values are not all, however, of the same type. Amongst them may be distinguished three kinds: some values that have been found to be of great survival value are humanistic in character. A good illustration of that type is the Sabbath. The Jewish Sabbath is no doubt of great importance from the point of view of survival. At the same time, the fundamental ideas of the Sabbath are universal and of value to the whole of humanity. There is another kind of Jewish value that is general but not on the same plane as the former. An illustration of this type would be the singing of *Zemiroth* on Friday evening, or the ceremony of kindling the Sabbath lights. In the sense that an appreciation of these might conceivably be cultivated by a non-Jew, if he were

so interested, they might be considered general. But no one will claim that they have the same human value as the conception of justice or the Sabbath. They are in a peculiar sense possessions of the group that observes them. They are survival values, but their essential aspect is cultural or æsthetic.

There is a third kind of survival value that neither possesses the humanistic aspects of the first, nor the cultural-æsthetic aspects of the second. Yet these are also survival values. They have functioned greatly in the preservation of the life of the group, but their value is not intrinsic as in the case of the others. Their value is *merely* survival. Some of these are very important, however, for survival, because they are deeply rooted in Jewish life. They have their roots in the far past, in the cradle days of the group. They are almost universally observed. Above all, when violated by a member of the group they place him, at least in the mind of the rest of the group, as an outsider, as one who has broken the bonds. Of course, not all the values in this class are to an equal degree deeply rooted. As an illustration of this we may consider the refusal to intermarry. Jewish values may be therefore classified as follows:

- I. Humanistic values.
- II. Survival values.
 - A. Of a humanistic aspect (e. g., the Sabbath).
 - B. Cultural, or æsthetic (e. g., Zemiroth, or the kindling of the Sabbath lights).
 - C. Deeply rooted (e. g., refusal to intermarry).

Our criteria of selection must, however, reckon also with the very significant fact that our schools are for the children of Jews living in America. America implies living in an environment of modernism, as contrasted with the ghetto environment in which the Jew had been compelled to live for centuries. Adjustment to modernism—to the present *Zeitgeist*—is essential.

It might, however, be maintained that the present *Zeitgeist* as expressed in this country, shows many unfavorable features which ought to be rejected. There is a good deal of truth in such an assertion. For this reason it is necessary to point out

what some of the essential features of the present *Zeitgeist* are, to which Jewish life should adjust itself.

Modern life has succeeded in relatively eliminating space and time. Facilities of transportation and communication have increased tremendously. Coupled with this, the rise of democracy has increased and intensified the desire to share activities with others. The result has been that the thinking man today is becoming more than ever world-minded. An intelligent individual permits his actions to be affected in some measure by a sense of social responsibility which is, or should be, world wide. In the same way the intelligent group should question the results of its own actions in terms of such social responsiveness. This might be called the criterion of universalization. Does this act, which the group is about to do, this thought which the group has accepted, tend to bring men nearer together, or does it tend to separate them? If it tends to separate them, is it the kind of separation that has value to the group and does not harm any other group, or is it the kind of separation that has no intrinsic value and only serves to increase the barriers that separate men? The criterion of universalization may be applied both positively and negatively. Positively, it would lead to emphasize certain Jewish values in the curriculum which tend to bring men nearer together. Negatively, this criterion serves to exclude any value which could not be at least theoretically universalized. If the question, "Would this value, if accepted by all people, tend to interfere with life?" is answered in the negative, the value may be said to pass the criterion of universalization. From this point of view, some values theoretically universalized may not be found to be of significance to humanity at large, but may have meaning within the life of the group itself.

Another characteristic of the present *Zeitgeist* is the scientific outlook on life⁵ which man has adopted. The appearance of Darwin's "Origin of Species" was an important event, because it changed the whole of modern philosophy. The conception of the

⁵ It should be noted that I am not using the word "Science"; I am not referring to any conflict between religion and science, whether it be real or imaginary, but I am referring to the critical spirit in general, the outlook which accompanies experimental inquiry.

"superiority of the fixed and the final" which dominated philosophy for two thousand years gave way to the idea that beings come, develop, and pass away. This bringing to the front of the idea of evolution revolutionized the thinking of man and affected religion tremendously. Belief in tradition, and the authority of the Bible and of religion in general, were shaken by the questioning attitude that necessarily accompanied the experimental method of inquiry which science adopted.

The problem of the Jew is how to maintain what is valuable in Jewish life, at the same time that he accepts this scientific outlook. The task of harmonizing is difficult and cannot be accomplished by disregarding an outlook which pervades practically all modern thought and action. Jewish values, therefore, have to be tested by the criteria of universalization and a scientific outlook on life before they can be said to be adjusted to the present Zeitgeist.

ADJUSTMENT TO AMERICA

Perhaps one of the most important evidences of the spirit of modernism is the growth of democracy.

So important a manifestation of modernism is the democratic outlook on life, that it deserves special consideration, although logically it might be considered a phase of modernism. The curriculum of the Jewish school must be adapted to the conditions of life in this country. Theoretically, this means the harmonizing of Jewish values with a democratic outlook upon life, at least to the extent that we conceive of America as developing more and more in the direction of democracy. Practically it means the adaptation of Jewish values to the social and economic conditions amidst which the Jews live in this country.

From the point of view of democracy, it is important that the anthropocentric conception of the universe emphasized by the Jewish religion, should be stressed in the curriculum. Care should be taken that the curriculum should not violate such fundamentals of democracy as the sharing of interests and the development of give and take relationships between people. Taking the attitude that a democratic society must provide for the continuous growth

of the individual and the group, the curriculum in our schools should avoid making difficult the possibility of coming in contact with other groups.

Secondly, adjustment to America means the adjustment of the curriculum to the changed and changing conditions of the social and economic life of the Jew in America, and in modern industrial society in general. The development of industry on a large scale has made the life of the worker one of routine. The worker is no longer free to arrange his time as in the days of home industry and apprenticeship. He becomes a part of the big machine, and is compelled to adjust himself to it, to a considerable extent. Objectionable as this state of affairs might be, we must reckon with it as a factor which affects traditional Jewishness, and makes the observance of some customs in this country very difficult. Certain values which are of deep meaning to the life of the group will be preserved by the strong will of the group, notwithstanding the difficulties due to economic or social conditions. Other values not felt to be as vital to the group life gradually fall into disuse.

From this point of view, Jewish life is in itself a criterion for the selection of values. Those that are deemed invaluable are continued at all costs; others deemed less valuable from the point of view of survival, are dropped with the first difficulty that new conditions bring to a man who would otherwise maintain them. Present practice in the case of customs and habits, present belief in the case of ideas, ideals and attitudes, are to some extent criteria of value. It may be true that when taken alone such a criterion is inadequate, since present practice might be, and in a good many cases is, undesirable, but taken with other criteria, it helps us judge the relative worth of values. For want of a better word, we can call this criterion the criterion of "Function." This criterion asks, "Does this value function, or can we, under the new social conditions, expect it to function?" It serves not only to call attention to the extent of present usage, but by emphasizing the fact that the Jewish people is a living, changing people, the curriculum maker is stimulated to center his attention on present day Jewish life, in order to fulfil in his curriculum present day Jewish needs.

It shifts the center of gravity of the Jewish curriculum from the past, where it has been for centuries, to the present and the future.

COMPARATIVE VALUES

How will the above criteria be used? It is important to note that these criteria have two aspects. On the one hand, they are meant primarily to insure the inclusion of the relatively permanent elements of the Jewish curriculum. On the other hand, they serve to emphasize those Jewish values which lead to a broadening of sympathies, necessary for world-mindedness.

It should be remembered, however, that the aims, ideals, habits and attitudes of a people can not be measured with the same quantitative exactness with which one counts heads. It would be futile to pretend that these criteria will serve as mathematical standards of measurement for Jewish values. This fact should not, however, prevent us from making use of them as expressions of tendencies of interpretation in Jewish life. They are indicative of a new spirit, in the field of Jewish education in America. Above all else, they are not to be considered absolute. They are meant to be helpful and suggestive to the Jewish educator, and may serve to introduce the process of reason and apply it to the field of the Jewish curriculum.

With this limitation in mind, one may note that the classification of values from the point of view of group preservation really serves as a criterion at the same time. To divide values into those that are essentially humanistic or survival, is in itself a classification, but the kind of classification that serves as a measuring rod. A Jewish value that is described as essentially humanistic need not be subjected to any further test. That very fact signifies that the value possesses the intrinsic worth and is in harmony with all the criteria previously mentioned.

The classification of survival values into humanistic, cultural æsthetic and deeply rooted, also serves to determine comparative values. It is self-evident that a value which has functioned greatly in the preservation of the group, and is also generally humanistic, is of greater importance, other things being equal, than one which

is of merely survival value. In the same way, there may be some values that are strongly survival, strongly humanistic, have cultural æsthetic aspects and are deeply rooted. These would be considered the most important, whereas a value to which only one of those characteristics applies, would be of less importance in the curriculum. What has no intrinsic value, but is just a means to an end, is in most cases of still less importance. The group of survival values may be subjected to the test implied in the criteria arising from modernism and the environment of America.

A careful use of these criteria will help us remember some of the ways in which even the very finest expressions of the *Zeitgeist* have to be modified and refined. Thus, while no one will deny the great value of our scientific outlook on life, many will look with concern at the direction to which the increase of scientific activity has led modern man. The influence has been altogether too technical and mechanical and not sufficiently human. Hence the destructive uses to which science has lately been put. Scientific activity has to be regulated and controlled by humaneness. The criterion of universalization should serve as a check. In this way one criterion will limit another and the curriculum of Jewish values will be more balanced than it has been hitherto.

Whether we all accept the criteria of values previously mentioned or not, we can not deny that there is a great need for an expanded curriculum that will include all those subjects which are of importance in enabling the child to function as a member of the largest Jewish community, and that with such an expanded curriculum and limited hours of instruction there is need of some criteria by which to select essential values.

THE TENDENCY TO EXTEND THE AGES OF INSTRUCTION

At the same time that there are evident the tendencies previously mentioned in content and in method, there are also some new tendencies in organization and administration that deserve our attention. Not the least important of these is the conviction that the process of education should be extended to include at least adolescents. At the same time that attempts are being made to

increase the number of children who receive high school instruction, as, for instance, in the Junior High School, continuation schools are being organized to meet the needs of those who, for economic reasons, or other reasons, can not give their full time to academic studies. A similar tendency to increase the age of instruction is found in the field of non-Jewish religious education, where, as you all no doubt know, courses of instruction are provided for the child from the age of 4 to the age of 20, and for adults as well.

In the case of the Jewish school this need for extending the ages of instruction is even more urgent. In the first place, our schools have limited time. In the second place, bearing in mind that a great part of our curriculum will necessarily continue to be literary and abstract, we can not help but feel the need of continuing Jewish instruction during the days of adolescence when the students who come to us are more mature and psychologically more fit to grasp the knowledge, the attitudes and the ideals which we feel are, or should be, the rightful inheritance of every Jewish boy and girl.

This tendency has already been reflected in the Jewish educational efforts of the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York City, which has developed a remarkable high school department containing about 400 young men and women who devote themselves to Jewish study several hours per week. Many of the religious schools all over the country are introducing high school or post-confirmation departments. It is but necessary for those who are conscious of this great need to encourage them, to stimulate them, to make their efforts more consistent, and to make this movement for extension of instruction country-wide. The high school, or post-confirmation department, should include a four-year course of instruction, and should be utilized as the great opportunity in which to bind the child in loyalty to Israel and his ideals.

There are some other tendencies in general education, and especially in Jewish education, that deserve consideration. There are the very important tendencies to professional training and to communal organization of Jewish education, and others, perhaps equally important. An adequate discussion of all of them might

well form the subject of an informative volume on Jewish education. In the limits of this paper I have just been able to deal in a very cursory manner with three fundamental tendencies—the tendency to introduce purposeful activity as the unit of education, the tendency to select our educational values, and the tendency to extent the ages of instruction.

If we would develop a curriculum for our schools related to the needs of Jewish life; if we would organize it as far as possible into purposeful activities in which the children in our schools can engage; if we would carry on the process of education as effectively as we can, not only till confirmation, but also throughout life, we would then be developing Jewish life, and in doing so, contributing to the enrichment of America.

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III

THE CURRICULUM OF THE JEWISH RELIGIOUS
SCHOOLELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENTS
(Two Sessions Weekly.)

I. THE AIM

The aim of Jewish Education is to enable the young to participate fully and loyally in Jewish life by bringing home to them the feeling of the presence of God in their lives, in nature, and in history. It is to make them understand that God demands as His service, the sanctification of life. It is to imbue them with the ideal of holiness (the biblical word for what we today call moral perfection); in short, to teach them the life which Judaism inculcates. It is to make the young feel that God and holiness, or the ideal of moral and spiritual life, have been best made known through Israel, as a great historic community.

II. THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum of the Jewish Religious School should therefore be so arranged as to awaken and foster in the young the religious consciousness and to stimulate them to aid in building up the important institutions of Jewish life, such as the home, the synagogue, and the community. The following activities and subjects should be included:

1. Prayer and Worship.
2. Doctrines of Judaism.
3. Social Service.

4. The Bible (English).
5. Post-Biblical Literature.
6. Jewish Tradition and History.
7. Reading of Hebrew, Translating of Prayers, Biblical Selections and Singing.
8. Contemporary Jewish Life:
 - a. Jewish Customs and Ceremonies in the Home.
 - b. Customs and Ceremonies of the Synagog.
 - c. The Jewish Community.
 - d. Current Events.
 - e. Present Jewish Problems.

III. THE HOURS OF INSTRUCTION

A social heritage which is 4,000 years old and is as rich as ours, cannot be transmitted in two hours of instruction per week. The proposed curriculum is based on the assumption that at least one additional session will be arranged during the week, making the total number of hours of instruction three and a half to four weekly, besides a short assembly on Sunday.

IV. THE METHOD

There are at least two fundamental principles of method that are of great importance in the curriculum. The first is the significance of interest as a factor making for effectiveness in school instruction. The child must be made to feel an intense desire to engage in activities and studies before we can say that he is really learning.

The second important principle of method is that of learning by doing; by activity. The child learns to live a Jewish life by living a Jewish life.

V. DISTRIBUTION OF THE CURRICULUM BY GRADES AND AGES

The following charts show how the subjects and activities previously listed in the curriculum will be distributed in an eight

year elementary course, starting with the age of six and ending with the age of fourteen.

VI. THE ASSEMBLY

Every session of the religious school should include a divine service arranged for the children of the school. This service should consist of prayers, responses, singing, a brief sermon and reports of school activities by children representative of the various classes of the school.

VII. THE SCHOOL COUNCIL

It would be highly advisable for the school to organize a school council; this would consist of representatives from all the classes in the school and officers elected by the children. Such an organization would be of great help, not only in matters of discipline in the school, but also in promoting child activities of a healthy kind, all of which would tend to develop a fine school spirit and loyalty to the Jewish school as an institution.

VIII. THE HIGH SCHOOL OR POST CONFIRMATION DEPARTMENT

When the child reaches the age of Confirmation, an important change takes place in his life. New interests arise as well as a greater capacity to grasp the significance of serious problems in life. Now is the opportunity to continue the spiritual education of our youth and to present to them the Jewish heritage from a new point of view. In a general way the following subjects of instruction may be included:

1. THE BIBLE. The Bible, which was hitherto taught in a general way, can now be taken up for more thorough study, either as a whole or in part, and thus be made the means of teaching the important ideals of the Jewish people.

2. JEWISH HISTORY THROUGH IMPORTANT PROBLEMS. This course would select some important Jewish

problems and trace them historically, *e. g.*, the problem, the preservation, expansion and deepening of the ideals of Israel, would be reviewed by pointing out the struggles on the part of Israel to preserve itself when it came in contact with Egypt, with Canaanite culture, with Hellenism, in Alexandria, as well as in Palestine, with Christian culture, etc.

3. JEWISH HISTORY CORRELATED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. This would show the relationship between the Jews and the peoples in whose midst they lived, and would be of particular significance to the High School boy or girl in view of their study of general History at that time.

4. POST-BIBLICAL JEWISH LITERATURE.

5. JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION.

6. JEWISH IDEALS REFLECTED IN JEWISH LIFE AND LITERATURE. This would serve as a sort of summary course reviewing the entire contents of school instruction given hitherto, in which we would proceed to examine the ethical, religious and cultural ideals reflected in various aspects of the literature and the present-day life of the Jews, and their application to the life of the individual.

7. JEWISH CURRENT EVENTS.

8. SINGING. (Songs of religious and spiritual content.)

9. SELECTIONS FROM THE BIBLE IN HEBREW FOR TRANSLATION, AND SELECTIONS FROM SUBSEQUENT LITERATURE.

The entire High School course will close with the study of the course in Jewish Ideals and will thus become a fitting occasion for a special graduation, recommendation to which will depend upon the successful completion of the entire course of study.

10. Provision should be made for special activities leading to the development of a healthy social life amongst the students, as well as for social service activities, in order to further the spirit of service on the part of the Jewish youth.

The accompanying charts show the distribution for the above studies and activities in a four-year school providing for two sessions a week.

A CURRICULUM FOR THE JEWISH RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

TWO SESSIONS EACH WEEK
 Sunday Morning: Assembly and Two Periods. Weekday Sessions: Two Periods.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	CHILDREN'S TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
1	(1) Bible Stories (Selected).	30 in 2 periods	(1) Bible Stories (well illustrated) to be read to the children at home.	(1) Teachers' Supplement on How to Tell Stories.
Age	(2) Reading of Hebrew and translation of simple Prayers.	90 in 2 periods	(2) חומש—חומש	(2) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Reading.
6	(3) Stories, Singing and Hand Work all related to Jewish Customs and Ceremonies of the Home.	60 in 2 periods	(3) Story Book of Customs and Ceremonies (well illustrated) to be read to the children at home.	(3) Teachers' Book on Customs and Ceremonies by the Project Method.
2	(1) Bible Stories (Selected).	30 in 2 periods	(1) Bible Stories (Selected), (well illustrated) to be read to the children at home.	(1) Teachers' Supplement on How to Tell Stories.
Age	(2) Reading of Hebrew and translation of Selected Prayers for Sabbath Morning Service.	90 in 2 periods	(2) חומש—חומש	(2) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Prayer.
7	(3) & (4) Stories, Singing and Hand Work related to Customs and Ceremonies of the Synagog.	30 in 2 periods	(3) Story Book on Customs and Ceremonies of the Synagog (well illustrated) to be read to the children at home.	(3) Teachers' Book on Customs and Ceremonies by the Project Method.
			(4) A Jewish Hymnal to be used in this and subsequent grades.	(4) Monograph on Teaching of Singing.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	CHILDREN'S TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
3	(1) Bible-Genesis.	75 in 2 periods	(1) Bible Reader of Genesis for Children.	(1) Teachers' Book on Genesis.
Age 8	(2) Post Biblical Stories (selected).	30 in 2 periods	(2) Post-Biblical Stories (well illustrated).	(2) Teachers' Supplement on How to Tell Stories.
	(3) Reading of Hebrew and translation of selected Prayers for Friday Evening Service.	120 in 3 periods	(3) המסדר	(3) Same.
	(4) Singing.	15	(4) A Jewish Hymnal.	(4) Monograph on Teaching of Singing.
4	(1) Bible, consisting of other narrative portions of Pentateuch.	105 in 2 periods	(1) Bible Reader on remaining narrative portions of Pentateuch.	(1) Teachers' Book and remaining narratives of Pentateuch.
Age 9	(2) Translation of Selections from the Pentateuch-Genesis.	120 in 2 periods	(2) Genesis for Children (Hebrew) with vocabulary and exercises.	(2) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching of Bible in Hebrew.
	(3) Singing.	15	(3) A Jewish Hymnal.	(3) Teachers' Monograph on Singing.
	(4) Current Events.	30 once a month	(4) Current Events.	(4) Teachers' Monograph on Current Events.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	CHILDREN'S TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
5	(1) Bible, consisting of selections from historical portions of the rest of the Bible covering the Period to The Division of the Kingdom. (2) Translation of Selections from the Pentateuch-Genesis. (3) Singing. (4) Current Events.	105 in 2 periods	(1) Bible Reader containing selections from the historical portions of the rest of the Bible. (2) Genesis for Children (Hebrew) with vocabulary and exercises. (3) Jewish Hymnal. (4) Current Events.	(1) Teachers' Book on Selections from Prophets and Hagiographa. (2) Same. (3) Monograph on Singing. (4) Monograph on Current Events.
Age 10		15 30 once a month		
6	(1) Bible Selections on Period from Division of Kingdom to 586 BCE. (2) Translation of Selections from the Pentateuch-Exodus. (3) Singing. (4) Current Events. (5) The Jewish Community—Local.—General.	90 in 2 periods 90 in 2 periods 15 30 once a month 45	(1) Bible Reader covering the Period from Division of Kingdom to 586 BCE. (2) Exodus for Children (Hebrew) with vocabulary and exercises. (3) Jewish Hymnal. (4) Jewish Current Events. (5) Text Book on Local and General Jewish Community.	(1) Teachers' Book on Period from Division of Kingdom to 586 BCE. (2) Same. (3) Monograph on Singing. (4) Monograph on Current Events. (5) a—Teachers' Supplement on Jews in Local Community. b—Teachers' Supplement on Jews in General Jewish Community.
Age 11				

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	CHILDREN'S TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
7	(1) History from 586 BCE to 70 CE.	90 in 2 periods	(1) Readers containing selections from Prophets, Hagiographa and Apocrypha. Pseudepigrapha and History for Children 586 BCE to 70 CE.	(1) Teachers' Book on History from 586 BCE to 70 CE.
Age	(2) Translation of Selections from the Pentateuch. (a) Leviticus. (b) Numbers.	90 in 2 periods	(2) Selections from Leviticus and Number for Children (Hebrew) with vocabulary and exercises.	(2) Same.
12	(3) Singing.	15	(3) A Jewish Hymnal.	(3) Monograph on Singing.
	(4) Current Events.	30 once a month	(4) Jewish Current Events.	(4) Monograph on Current Events.
	(5) The Jewish Community—Jews in many Lands.	45	(5) A trip around the Jewish World.	(5) Teachers' Book on a trip around the Jewish World.
8	(1) History from 70 CE to Mendelssohn.	90 in 2 periods	(1) Jewish History from 70 CE to Mendelssohn.	(1) Teachers' Book on History from 70 CE to Mendelssohn.
Age	(2) History, a Survey of the Biblical Period.	45	(2) Children's Text Book on Biblical Period.	(2) Teachers' Text Book on Biblical Period.
13	(3) Translation of Selections from the Pentateuch—Deuteronomy.	90 in 2 periods	(3) Selections from Deuteronomy for Children (Hebrew) with vocabulary and exercises.	(3) Same.
	(4) Singing.	15	(4) Jewish Hymnal.	(4) Monograph on Singing.
	(5) Current Events.	30 once a month	(5) Jewish Current Events.	(5) Monograph on Current Events.

CONFIRMATION

The last year of the Elementary Department should be utilized by the rabbi to prepare the child for Confirmation.

THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM OF THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

TWO SESSIONS EACH WEEK

Sunday Morning: Assembly and Two Periods.

Weekday Sessions: Two Periods.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	STUDENTS' TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
I Age 14	(1) Bible, Prophets and Hagiographa.	45	(1) Bible.	(1) Teachers' Book on Teaching the Bible. (a) —Prophets and Hagiographa.
	(2) The History of the Jews in America.	45	(2) The History of the Jews in America.	(2) Teacher's Book on History of Jews in America.
	(3) Hebrew—Selections from former Prophets, and Praise Passages from Hagiographa.	60 Sunday	(3) The Bible in Hebrew.	(3) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Bible in Hebrew.
	(4) Hebrew—Some Selections from later Hebrew Literature.	60 Week Day	(4) Appropriate Text Book to be prepared.	(4) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Subsequent Literature.
	(5) Jewish Current Events.	15	(5) Jewish Periodicals and Articles of Jewish Interest in General Periodical Literature.	(5) Teachers' Monograph on Current Events.
	(6) Singing.	15	(6) An appropriate Text Book.	(6) Teachers' Monograph on Singing.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	STUDENTS' TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
2	(1) Bible—The Pentateuch. (2)a—Modern Jewish History from Mendelssohn to present day. (2)b—(Optional) Jewish History through problems.	45 45	(1) The Bible. (2)a—Text Book for this Period. (2)b—Source Book of Jewish Problems in various Periods of Jewish History.	(1) Teachers' Book on Teaching the Bible. a—Pentateuch. (2)a—Teachers' Book for this Period. (2)b—Teachers' Book on Teaching History through Problems.
Age 15	(3) Hebrew—Selections from Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah 1-39, Micah and some Psalms. (4) Hebrew—Selections from later Hebrew Literature. (5) Jewish Current Events.	60 Sunday 60 Week Day 15	(3) The Bible in Hebrew. (4) Appropriate Text Book to be prepared. (5) Jewish Periodicals and Articles of Jewish Interest in General Periodical Literature.	(3) Same. (4) Same. (5) Teachers' Monograph on Current Events.
	(6) An Appropriate Text Book.	15	(6) An Appropriate Text Book.	(6) Teachers' Monograph on Singing.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	STUDENTS' TEXT BOOKS	TEACHERS' TEXT BOOKS
3	(1) a—Jewish Contributions to Civilization.	45	(1) Text on The Jew and The World.	(1) Teachers' Book on The Jew and The World.
	(1) b—(Optional) Jewish History Correlated with History of the World.			
	(1) c—(Optional) Judaism and Other Religions.			
Age 16	(2) Post Biblical Jewish Literature.	45	(2) Halper's Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature.	(2) Teachers' Book on Teaching Post-Biblical Literature.
	(3) Hebrew—Selections from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Lamentations, some Psalms and Proverbs.			
	(4) Hebrew—Some Selections from later Hebrew Literature.	60 Sunday	(3) The Bible in Hebrew.	(3) Teachers' Supplement on Bible in Hebrew.
	(5) Jewish Current Events.	60 Week Day	(4) Appropriate Text Book to be prepared.	(4) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Subsequent Hebrew Literature.
	(6) Singing.	15	(5) Jewish Periodicals and Articles of Jewish interest in General Periodical Literature.	(5) Teachers' Monograph on Current Events.
		15	(6) An Appropriate Text Book.	(6) Teachers' Monograph on Singing.

YEAR	CURRICULUM	TIME IN MINUTES	STUDENTS' TEXT BOOKS	TEACHER'S TEXT BOOKS
4	(1) Jewish Ideals. (See Paragraph VIII—6)	90 in 2 periods	(1) A List of Assigned Readings in many Sources.	(1) A Syllabus for Teachers on Jewish Ideals.
Age	(2) Hebrew—Selections from Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, Isaiah 40 ff.	60 Sunday	(2) The Bible in Hebrew.	(2) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Bible in Hebrew.
17	(3) Hebrew—Some Selections from later Hebrew Literature.	60 Week Day	(3) Appropriate Text Book to be prepared.	(3) Teachers' Supplement on Teaching Subsequent Hebrew Literature.
	(4) Jewish Current Events.	15	(4) Jewish Periodicals and Articles of Jewish Interest in General Periodicals Literature.	(4) Teachers' Monograph on Current Events.
	(5) Singing.	15	(5) An Appropriate Text Book.	(5) Teachers' Monograph on Singing.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Brickner: I am rather puzzled to understand why the paper presented by Dr. Gamoran and the report of the Committee, especially the resolution dealing with the week-day religious school question, have received such scanty attention at the hands of the Conference.

I take it there is in the minds of the Committee a distinction between Jewish education and Jewish religious education. I like the terminology "Jewish education" for the work the Committee has in mind better than that of "Jewish religious education."

If you go over the Conference yearbooks, you find a steady and continuous reference to the fact that this Conference urges upon its members and upon the Sunday schools of the country a more intensified form of education in the form of more time assigned to the work of Jewish education. What we should like to know is, how are we to get more time for education for our schools? I do not think there is a rabbi in this Conference who is satisfied with the Sunday school, who is not willing to subscribe his name to the fact that the Sunday school has been, as far as the purposes of reform Judaism are concerned, a failure. Why is it that we have not been able in our schools, with the conviction that we have on education, to put a week-day religious school in place of the Sunday school?

Now it seems to me that the time has come for the expert on education and the Commission to devote themselves to some concrete plan that will involve the laity of the congregations and the changing of public opinion on this question of putting into force a week-day religious school system. I think that is most essential. I would like to see within the next year some concrete recommendations made by this Commission toward that end.

I would also like to state that the curriculum which was printed in the report is really not a curriculum at all; it is merely the suggested outline of a curriculum and should be so called. If that curriculum is to be of any practical use at all, outside of the fact that it covers a few pages in a printed report and therefore makes it look more scholarly, it must be a real curriculum with

supplementary material which we can put into the hands of our superintendents and teachers for practical use. As it stands today every rabbi and every congregation can duplicate it with some improvements and I would like to see this Conference devote more time than it has to this fundamental question. We would like to take some concrete message back with us.

Dr. Gamoran: Rabbi Brickner has touched on two fundamental questions and I believe he deserves an answer, and perhaps I ought to take this opportunity to answer another question which was asked outside of the Conference floor but one which in all likelihood will be asked by a great many members after they read over the curriculum carefully.

A question was asked by Rabbi Brickner about the week-day religious instruction. May I say that the members of the Commission and especially the sub-committee that worked on the curriculum have come to the conclusion that unless a system of week-day religious instruction is introduced our schools and all our aims which we intend to accomplish through our schools are doomed to failure. I am using those words, "doomed to failure," because they are the strongest that I can think of.

It is impossible to transmit a Jewish social heritage which is as rich as ours, which starts in the dim past and continues to the present day and into the future, on two hours of instruction a week.

Means and methods—those are more within the field of administration; those are more within the field of the members of the Commission as rabbis, and of the members of the Conference as rabbis, rather than of experts in education, because the problem of convincing the laity is one that the educational expert cannot do, no matter how much he tries. The local rabbi is in touch with his Board and it is the duty of the local rabbi to take the problem of religious education with sufficient seriousness to work in the direction of introducing week-day religious instruction instead of speaking about it at one Conference after the other and doing nothing about it when he comes back. Perhaps you have tried it and it has failed, but I wish to call attention to one fact: If you examine your budgets you will find that out of a \$30,000 budget

per year, your religious school in all likelihood spends \$1,000 or \$2,000, and in some cases even less. Your teachers are volunteer teachers, or are inadequately paid. May I say that the problem of week-day religious instruction lies somewhere in the direction of first convincing the laity in the local institutions and secondly, getting a budget for the religious school that is commensurate with the needs of the religious school.

Secondly, with regard to the outline of a curriculum, I am really not concerned whether you call this a curriculum or an outline of a curriculum. I agree it would be more modest to call it an outline of a curriculum in technical, pedagogic terminology. A curriculum is anything from a mere statement of what we are going to study each year to a detailed study of the subjects. Our Commission has preferred to call it a curriculum. May I point out though that what was in the mind of the Commission when they accepted this curriculum was something much more fundamental. Hitherto the Commission was a Commission on religious educational literature. They concerned themselves with the problem of publishing manuscripts. However, interested as they were in the problem of publishing manuscripts, there was no definite plan which they followed in the publication of such manuscripts. They had a general idea as to what the aim of the school was and that they wanted text-books on history and on teaching religion and on Hebrew, but there was no definite, consistent plan in accordance with which we would know when a certain manuscript is submitted to us that this manuscript belongs to this division of our curriculum and that we ought to undertake to publish such a manuscript.

The acceptance of this curriculum by the Commission is an indication, in the first place, that they intend to follow a consistent plan in the publication of manuscripts. The plan is going to be one which is going to prepare a series of text-books for children and a corresponding series of guide books for teachers, because as you all no doubt know the teachers in our schools need training, a plan of that sort which is to be followed sufficiently to prepare text-books for eight years in an elementary school course and four years in a high school course.

Now I want to answer the third question that was raised out-

side of the Conference floor, and perhaps it was mentioned on the Conference floor as well. Someone said, "How is it that in our curriculum ninety hours of Hebrew are included as against thirty hours of instruction in religion and ethics?" The very asking of the question indicates a failure to see what is the main object of this new training in education with regard to our curriculum.

One of the fundamental changes that the Commission has gone on record as favoring in our religious schools is this: They have recognized that in order to develop a religious and ethical attitude on the part of the young it is altogether futile to attempt to teach religion and ethics to children; that if we are going to teach theology to little tots of seven and eight, we are going to fail. We have been doing it for years and it is about time that we gave up the teaching of theology to little children. It belongs to the theological school.

What we intend to do is to develop religious and ethical attitudes and a loyalty to the Jewish people as a living, changing people today. In order to do that, we expect the development of religious and ethical attitudes to accompany the teaching of all the subjects of instruction in the schools and all the activities that pervade the Hebrew schools; so that it is not a question of whether you are going to teach ninety hours of Hebrew and thirty hours of religion and ethics.

Every time the child is in the school it receives some sort of instruction, whether it be customs and ceremonies, whether it be Jewish history, whether it be the Bible, whether it be the Hebrew of the prayer book, or whether it be medieval and modern Hebrew literature, we will be developing those attitude of mind which are going to be conducive to a religious and ethical outlook on life and to loyalty to the Jewish people as a living people. That is the function of this curriculum and as such we must regard it. The only hope is that we will be able to find the men and the women who know enough about the problem and have had sufficient pedagogic training to be able to write those text-books. I want to assure you that from my knowledge the number of people whom we can get properly to write text-books at present, which are fit for the young, both from a Jewish point of view and from a pedagogic point of view, can probably be counted on the fingers of both my hands and have some fingers left.

I

SYNAGOG MUSIC—PAST AND PRESENT

A. Z. IDELSOHN

The great scholar and poet Abraham Ibn Ezra recognized already eight hundred years ago the ethnological truth that every people fashions its song to suit its spirit, and reflects in its chant its inner mood and characteristics. Therefore anyone who wants to sound the innermost characteristics of a people must probe its achievements in the realm of tune and melody. For thus says Ibn Ezra in one of his epigrams:

The Arabs sing of love and lust,
The Christians of war and revenge,
The Greeks of wisdom and cunning,
The Hindus of proverbs and riddles,
But Israel's song is to the Lord of Hosts.

Although the reference here is to the verbal content of the songs and poems, I have reason to think that Ibn Ezra included here also their melodies, for in his days the lyrics were still closely connected with their tunes and such a thing as an unsung poem was unimaginable, especially among the Arabs. A lyric without a tune was like a body without a soul. Sometimes the tune gave rise to the lyric; but at all times the content of the poem determined the type of the melody since the music was intended to emphasize the purport of the words. Indeed, it is well known that war songs have quite a different melody from love songs or songs of prayer. But the more fundamental distinction is that all of these are expressed by each people in its own peculiar way.

NOTE: When delivered, this lecture was illustrated vocally by the speaker.

The prayer, love, and war songs of the people are never identical to those of another people. Nothing can reflect the peculiar characteristics of a people so well as its folksong.

While thoughts—because they are the offspring of the mind—may become universal property regardless of the nation that originated them, feelings—in that they arise in the heart, and are the products of the peculiar life of a people, born of its life-blood and the marrow of its bones, determined by the nature of the land in which that people had its origin—these feelings cannot be appropriated by any other folk. And the chant which the people creates to express its inmost feelings, to pour out its heart—only this people can create and not another. The constant creation of its song depends, then, upon the continuance of the people's individuality. Now peoples had been formed, are being formed, and will continue to be formed. For as long as there are different zones on the earth and special geographical, geological, and climatic conditions to each section, so long men will be compelled to band together into a political and economic entity within a prescribed geographical area and after a number of generations merge into one type and develop common characteristics, in other words, become a people, although originally they were part and parcel of other peoples and were driven by sheer necessity to one common place. With the new peoples, will be new songs. An exception to this rule is the people whom some inner and hidden force does not permit to become assimilated with the new body being formed, whom some divine power directs to remain alone and isolated in order to enlighten the world the better through special gifts and indubitable endowments, a people whose song must be eternal.

"Israel's song is to the Lord of Hosts." Ibn Ezra endeavors to depict the special gifts of the civilized nations, heaped upon them by divine providence. The Jews, who gave birth not only to the idea of monotheism, but also to the pure belief in one God, were in addition the originators of songs and laudations, man's media of expression of the noble religious feeling. It is true that every civilized nation creates also other values besides the chief and fundamental value by which it is distinguished, but these are trivial in comparison to its primary force. Thus, the Jews had other values besides ethical religion or religious ethics, but all these were

insignificant in comparison to this tremendous force which brought enlightenment to the world and will continue to do so. More than that, the Jewish spirit subjected all other spiritual and intellectual forces to the service of this primary and paramount force, in order that it might find a more beautiful and appropriate expression through them. Hence Hebrew poetry is primarily religious-ethical.

Has then the Jewish people created also a religious music? On this point we have important testimony. The Bishop Clemons of Alexandria (150-220) who lived in Palestine twenty years, enjoins the church choristers to abolish the heathen Greek chants and introduce the Jewish, for only the latter are able to arouse the true spirit of devotion. Augustine, Bishop of Rome (354-430), also advances the same idea. What was the nature of this chant in those days that it could arouse "the true spirit of devotion?" We shall understand this if we observe carefully the prayers proper and the order of the divine service in those days, that is, in the first centuries of the common era. On both Sabbaths and holidays, public service consisted of four parts: 1. Passages of song (*Pesuke de zimra*), psalms and selections from the Scriptures, intoned by the entire congregation in unison; 2. *Yoser* and the recitation of *Shema*; 3. *Tefilla* or Eighteen Benedictions, intoned first by the precentor alone and repeated silently by the congregation; 4. Reading of the Torah, likewise in elevated chant. The precentor was not permanent in those days, but the presiding officer of the synagog would invite the most worthy and honored members of the congregation,—those conversant with the recitation of prayers, endowed with a resonant voice, and possessed of good manners—to take charge of the public service and lead the congregation in the recitation of prayers and in the reading of the Torah. The three divisions of the service were allotted to three precentors. Now since the precentors were temporary and non-professional, it stands to reason that the singing was plain and popular, and in as much as the entire assembly repeated it after them, we must understand that the music was familiar to every one in the congregation. It is this plain chant that has been preserved in the synagog to this very day: the solo chant of the precentor and the antiphonal chant intoned first by the precentor and repeated by the congregation.

The former includes passages from the Scriptures, Benedictions, and *Yoser*, while the latter embraces the *Tefilla* and *Shema* in which the precentor used to intone half a sentence and the congregation close it, or the precentor would say the entire sentence and the congregation repeat the latter portion, closing with *Amen*. A third form was the intonation by the entire congregation in unison, as in the case of the Passages of Song (*Pesuke de zimra*). These three forms of recitation were adopted by the early Christians and are still quite generally employed in their ecclesiastical chant. Qualitatively the chant was divided into various styles or fixed modes. Thus there were different modes for the Torah, the Prophets, and the Five Scrolls, and several modes for Psalms. These modes are constructed generally on scales of a circumscribed tetrachord and are still common to all the leading Jewish communities in the world, a circumstance which points to their great antiquity and the likelihood that they had already been in use before the second exile.¹

The Jewish religion, like the Jewish law, is democratic and human. It does not require an intermediary between man and his Father in heaven, a priest to intercede with God on his behalf, but every human being is fit to approach God and pour out his prayer before Him who hears Hagar the Egyptian just as he hears the great Moses. The Jewish congregation requires only a kind of public messenger who possesses the intellectual and moral force to express what the public feels. Such a function befits a man of lofty spirit and great heart, of sterling virtue and sensitive soul. It is interesting to note that never did the people turn to the priest to pray for it in time of distress, but ever turned to the prophet or man of spirit, the pious and the humble, relegating to him the office of precentorship. It mattered not, whether the pious soul was man or woman, as we learn from the example of Huldah, the prophetess, or the wife of Abba Hilкия, the grandson of Hōni, the *Maagal*, who, because she distributed bread among the poor, was answered when she prayed. Prayer, like religion and the Law, was the property of the people, and hence the chant accompanying prayer was popular and diffusive,

¹For specimens from the Scriptures, and the Christian liturgy, see *Thesaurus of Oriental Hebrew Melodies*, II, p. 5-21; 33-75.

a free expression of the people who actively engaged in prayer. Therefore intelligibility and general participation are two essentials in prayer and chant—such intelligibility as shall express the religious emotions, such participation as shall voice the Jewishness of feeling.

One more element was made essential in prayer: vitality. Petrified uniformity was eschewed because it kills the spirit, and the Jews were directed not to make prayer a perfunctory obligation but a means of grace before the Lord. The Talmud records, in the name of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanos or Rabbi Samuel ben Nathavel, who, in his turn, quoted Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, that whoever recites his prayers perfunctorily fails to obtain mercy and grace. The Gemara explains: What is meant by perfunctory prayer? Prayer without any variety. Rashi interprets the sentence: as his prayer was yesterday, so it is today and tomorrow.² Moreover, Rabbi Judah ben Barzillai decides, that it is permissible to introduce some innovation in reciting every benediction of the Tefilla or Amidah, except the three first and last ones.

The prayer and chant in the form in which I endeavored to depict them maintained themselves up to the time of the development of the *Piyyut* in the eighth century, and in many communities up to the twelfth century. Rabbi Nathan ha-Babli describes the order of prayer in Babylon (with reference to Pumbeditha) in his day, the tenth century, exactly as I described it above.³ Rabbi Petahya of Regensburg, in the twelfth century, tells us that in Persia, Media, Damascus, and Babylon, there are no *hazanim*, but the presidents of the congregations summon worthy and learned men from their midst and charge them to lead the prayer in the synagogue, whereby it often happens that several men lead at one and the same service.⁴

Not only our history, but also the early Church Fathers bear testimony to the tremendous effect exerted by this prayer and its plain chant on the hearers. It was the psalms and prayers with their plain modes and melodies that stirred up the early Christians and confirmed them in their determination to offer themselves as

²Berachot, 28b.

³In Juhasin, Amsterdam, 1732, p. 92.

⁴Sebbub Ed. Grünhut, 24.

prey to the wild beats in the arenas at Rome or to be crucified. Even as late as the fourth century Ambrosius narrates how he saved his congregation in Milan through chanting psalms and prayers in unison throughout the night. It is a well-known fact that nothing exerts such a potent influence on the heart and soul as a plain popular melody intoned by a large audience.

But soon a new power arose, uprooting the ancient established order. Islam conquered the greater part of the civilized world and freed the Jews from the iron yoke of Persia and Rome. A new civilization, Arabic-Moorish, was established, bringing to the emancipated Jews rights and privileges which they believed would be permanent. In some way the status of the Jews during this period (eighth to eleventh century) is similar to that of the nineteenth century. Arabic civilization, including poetry and chants, developed and branched out, exerting its influence also on the Christian Church, namely the Syrian-Jacobite and Greek denominations, whose prayer-books it enriched with new songs and tunes. Little by little a desire for innovation arose also among the Jews. Suddenly it seemed to them that their prayers and tunes were too plain and too old, and therefore they began introducing the new *paiyyatani* form of prayer—a form affecting both text and chant—one which could not be acceptable to the Jewish people, since it was foreign to the Jewish spirit and, moreover, was artificial rather than popular. The *Piyyut*, in the first place, silenced the people in the synagogue and prevented them from actually participating in public worship, since it was unintelligible to them both in text and chant. Thus instead of drawing the people to the Synagog, as it was hoped, these boring innovations either kept them away from it, or provoked such restlessness that the congregants began to talk during the service, and oftentimes to leave the house of worship during the *ḥazan's* embellishment of the *piyyutim*. We find apt illustration in Rabbi Judah Ḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni*, chapter 24. The spiritual leaders of the people realizing the baneful influence of the *Piyyut* and its chant, and the great harm it was doing to the synagogue, issued a protest against it. Hai Gaon, Isaac Alfasi and Moses ben Maimon complain about the *ḥazanim* who indulge in Arabian chants. Similarly Rabbi

Asher ben Jehiel of Toledo vents his anger against the *ḥazanim* of Spain whose strength is a sweet voice and nothing else and who are engaged for their august position for this quality alone, even if they be utter scoundrels.⁵ Great scholars, in order not to idle away their time, made it a habit to indulge in study while the *ḥazan* was weaving his *roulades* and *fiorituri* around the *piyyutim*. Rabbi Jacob ben Moses Molin, however, said that it is not advisable to interrupt the prayer through study while the *ḥazan* chanted *piyyutim*, for the common people might thereby judge interruption permissible, and begin to talk.

The *Piyyut* and its melody brought a decided change not only in the characteristics of the synagogal chant but also in its execution, for the popular leader of the prayer, the volunteer precentor, was done away with, and in his stead came the permanent and professional precentor who lives by his art. Thus the *Piyyut* gave birth to the institution of *Ḥazanuth*, changing the fundamental meaning of the word *ḥazan*—superintendent, officer, beadle—to singer, cantor, precentor. The *Ḥazan* (in Assyrian “superintendent,” in Arabic “manager of the house” and hence also “a chest in which articles of the house are kept”) was originally the officer or agent of the congregation or community in all public affairs, both religious and secular. Among other things he inflicted lashes on those found guilty by the Beth-Din. He also arranged the affairs of the synagog, but had nothing whatever to do with prayer proper. The latter required a venerable man, wise and modest, of a good reputation and beloved by the people, and, last but not least, possessing a pleasant voice. “For forsooth he who is the intermediary between Israel and their Father in heaven must be righteous and upright and spotless in his body.” These were the requirements of our forefathers with reference to a precentor, and they coincide with the sublime Jewish ethics. Evidently the *ḥazan* in his capacity as beadle did not measure up to this standard. But when persecutions increased in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and hearts flagged, so that at times there was hardly one man in a congregation who was capable of leading prayer, we find a query directed by one congregation to Natronai Gaon as to whether

⁵ Resp. § 4; Tur, Hilḥot tefilla.

youths of seventeen and eighteen might become precentors, since otherwise they would have but one man who was conversant with the prayers, and he was always busy at his trade and had no leisure to come to the synagog. Consequently the congregations were compelled little by little to hand over the prayers to the beadle, who was always found in the synagog. But this was not done all at once. At the beginning they gave him permission to read the Torah. Afterwards we find him reciting the Benedictions of Dawn up to *Yoser*. Moses ben Maimon still insisted that he who is permitted to recite the Shema may yet be unworthy for the Tefilla. The entire prayer was not taken over by the *hazan* until after the birth of the *Piyyut*.

With the disappearance of Jewish autonomy in Palestine and Babylon and the extinction of public and political life in Jewish communities, the sphere of the *hazan's* activity became limited to the synagog,—hence his intense desire to introduce new forms into the liturgy in order to strengthen his position. Thus he began to build up sweet melodies around the *Piyyut* in order to draw the crowd and display his virtuosity to his listeners. Gradually he freed himself altogether from the beadle'ship and became an artist. Rabbi Asher ben Jehiel, as stated above, complained bitterly against this emphasis of virtuosity to the detriment of all noble qualities requisite for such an august office. Henceforth complaints against the *hazan* began to multiply, and they were accused of all kinds of base and mean transgressions. Rabbi Solomon ben Addereth had to sit in judgment over quarrels that broke out in various communities about *hazan*; Rabbi M. Mintz had to establish an order of conduct for the *hazan*, and Rabbi Jacob Molin found it incumbent upon him to fix the liturgical tunes, so that no *hazan* could introduce new ones foreign to Jewish tradition.

It is true that there were also qualified *hazan*, men of learning and noble virtues and intense Jewish heart, especially in Germany, and eastern Europe, and it is these men who fashioned the genuine and beautiful tunes which survive to this day in the Jewish liturgy. The tunes that were foreign to the Jewish spirit were quickly forgotten and only those that were shaped out of the

popular Hebrew chant were preserved.⁶ Much credit is due to the faithful guardians of Jewish tradition, the rabbis, whose opposition to any foreign tunes in the synagogue, served to keep the Jewish chant clean and uncontaminated; while on the other hand the people themselves, who rejoiced at every innovation in the synagogue, soon wearied of it as the newness wore off, and began to yearn for the genuine Jewish song.

This phenomenon is witnessed in Italy, when the spirit of the Renaissance penetrated also to the ghetto. In Venice, the most important Jewish ghetto in those days, a Jewish theatre was established, also a Jewish concert house under the leadership of Rabbi Judah Arych Leon di Modena, who induced the then famous Jewish composer, Solomon di Rossi, to write new compositions for the synagogue in imitation of the classic compositions of Palestrina. However, the rabbis became alarmed over this innovation and di Modena came out with lengthy discussions trying to prove its justification. But all his efforts were of no avail, nay they even intensified the stubborn resistance of the orthodox element, and under no circumstances were these new compositions allowed to enter the synagogue. When Rabbi Nehemiah of Ferrara dared to introduce a change in the tune of the Priestly Blessing he was threatened by the rabbis with criminal procedure.⁷

Here is another illustration. The itinerant singers in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their manner of singing aroused also among the Jewish singers the desire to become itinerant performers, i. e., wandering *hazanim*. Moreover, the spirit of the Italian Renaissance which penetrated to every country in Europe and made itself felt in every branch of human endeavor, including the sacred chant, pierced also through the ghetto walls. In Regensburg and afterwards in Prague, it became customary to receive the Sabbath with a choir and an orchestra.⁸ The *hazanim* imitated the itinerant singers, wandering from congregation to congregation with a choir consisting of a "bass" and a "singer." The synagogue was turned into a concert house, the prayer itself forming the concert. The reading of the

⁶The Missinay Melodies.

⁷See Mesissumelis Nantua 1615.

⁸Lifte Jesenim, Amst. 1680.

Law was made a source of income to the *hazanim*, who sold *aliyyoth* with a flourished *Mi sheberak* to him who was willing to pay the higher price. The *hazanim* behaved as the itinerant singers, wearing special clothes and long hair, and drinking a good deal.⁹ But soon the Jewish religious-ethical feeling was stirred up against such follies, and a violent opposition made itself felt on the part of the rabbis. In Amsterdam a quarrel broke out on account of some *hazan*. In Frankfurt a ban was placed on itinerant *hazanim*, preventing them from participating in the service. Where are all the compositions which these *hazanim* composed? Where are the elaborate and artistic compositions of Solomon di Rossi? Nothing remains! One of the best of this species of *hazanim* was Solomon Kashtan, of Dubno, towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, of whom a few compositions with a Jewish flavor still remain.

All this chant was not in keeping with the Jewish spirit, for it lacked, in the first place, the element of popularity, being too artistic after the fashion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and therefore preventing the people from active participation in the singing, whereby the prayer lost its real purport and became nothing but a concert; and in the second place this chant lacked the genuine Hebrew element.

In the order of prayer introduced by Jacobson in Seesen and Hamburg, the element of popularity was taken cognizance of through public and communal singing, but a grave sin was committed through the introduction of foreign tunes, chiefly German-Protestant. It is interesting to note that of all the tunes and melodies in Jacobson's order of prayer only those with a Jewish flavor have been preserved.

Classic music of the style of Bach exerted a considerable influence on the synagogal chant at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But what remains of it now? Its foremost protagonist, Solomon Sulzer, published his *Shir Zion*, and now, thirty years after Sulzer's demise, there remain of his many compositions, only about four, five or six melodies with a Jewish flavor, based on the ancient Jewish chant and possessing the element of

⁹ Shire Jehuda, Amsterdam, 1697, p. 14ff.

popularity. Even the great Sulzer sinned against the spirit of Judaism in his attempt to make an art out of prayer and to subject the religious sense to this artistic creation.

That the synagogal chant must be in agreement with the canons of musical composition is stated already by Rabbi Joseph Albo.¹⁰ But this does not imply an artistic melody which the general public has no need of, but a popular tune intelligible to everybody and in which all can participate, a popular Hebrew chant! On the principle that prayers must be comprehensible to everybody, Rabbi Judah the Pious says in his "Book of the Pious" that it is not permitted to introduce *piyyutim* which are unintelligible to the people. Even so with reference to the chant!¹¹

If we wish to know what road to follow in fixing the synagogal chant for the future, we must turn back to the past and take our cue from history. The questions: prayer with or without a *hazan*, with or without an organ, adhesion to this or another rite, do not remove the principal consideration: a popular Hebrew chant. These questions concern changes in the *form* of historical prayer, while the question about the quality of the chant is vital and fundamental to Judaism.

In both the orthodox synagogue and the reform temple the liturgical chant has digressed very considerably from its original. The orthodox chant is still a continuation of the *hazanic* concoction of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *hazan* still figures as a dexterous artist, whose duty it is to satisfy the Jew's longing for concert, opera, and instrumental music, and hence his chant must contain something of all these and taste like the manna of the Jews in the wilderness, which, according to the Midrash, had the taste of all kinds of food combined in one. And not only this, but the *hazan* must be able to produce in his throat the timbre of all kinds of musical instruments, of a violin and flute, clarinet and trumpet, bass and kettledrum; more than that, a great *hazan* must be able to imitate also the voices of animals and fowls, to sing *staccato* as a nightingale, to coo like a dove, to roar like a lion, etc. Such antics still characterize the *hazan* of today,

¹⁰Takarim, Chap. IV, 23.

¹¹Ed. Mekise nird, 1891, p. 8.

especially in America, where his chant is a cheap imitation of marches, opera arias, quartets from concerts, etc.

All this rubbish has been done away with in reform temples. But in pouring out the water from the tub they carelessly threw away the child too. They omitted the Hebrew chant in all its various forms, eliminated the recitative which is an important element in it, removed the tune for the reading of the Law despite its great originality, and introduced instead a German or Anglo-Saxon hymnal melody which is foreign to the Jewish spirit. More than that, they employ Christian melodies for Jewish prayers; in other words, they endeavor to express through a Christian medium the Jew's religious thoughts and his feelings toward God. Is there anything more absurd than this? Is it enough if we merely substitute God for Jesus in a Christian hymn? Does the difference between Judaism and Christianity lie in the name only?

In my opinion the liturgical chant must be constructed on these fundamentals:

1. A popular Hebrew tune. Hymns admitted to the synagog should be based on the ancient Hebrew chant and easy for the public to sing in unison.
2. The plain Hebrew recitative as it was preserved in the tunes of the Bible and ancient prayer, purged of *hazanic* flourishes.
3. Removal of all kinds of non-Jewish tunes.
4. Removal of the artificial chant whose purport is art and not prayer.

Only when these requirements are consummated will our liturgy be in the spirit of the Jewish religion and historical truth.

J

SABATO MORAIS—AN APPRECIATION ON THE
CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH.

WILLIAM ROSENAU

As long as my memory lasts, I shall not forget the imposing personality of the man, who, for several decades, led in religious devotion and guided in religious thinking the men and women, the adults and the young people, constituting "Mikveh Israel" of Philadelphia, Pa.

With my mind's eye, I see him still standing upon the *Bema* of his congregation's synagog, located on Seventh Street, north of Arch, in the aforesaid city. He was about 5 ft. 10 in. in height, had silken hair with tender curls, deep-set dark eyes, a greyish beard and possessed a sonorous, penetrating but well-modulated voice. He was attired with high silk hat, black gown and *talith* whenever he performed the duties of reader and preacher.

No one ever listened to this man but that he caught the fervor of the man's earnestness and enthusiasm. Thus it happens, that, within the walls of "Mikveh Israel," everybody participated fervently in the congregational rendering of well-known traditional melodies.

Who, that is acquainted with the chapters of the story of American Israel, earlier than the one which we, of this generation, are making, does not know that I am presenting a picture of Sabato Morais *וכר צדיק לברכה* the recollection of whose long activity proves an enduring blessing?

Whence came Sabato Morais? Like all our pioneers, from across the seas. Italy was his fatherland. That Italy, the Jewish community of which dates back as far as the first century of the

Christian era! That Italy, which, unlike other countries in medieval times, did not continually persecute the Jews! That Italy, which has made valuable contributions to Jewish scholarship! That Italy, which has won for itself a distinguished place in the struggle for universal liberty!

Leghorn, a seaport town, on Italy's western coast, was the place of Sabato Morais' birth. April 11, 1823, corresponding to *Iyar* 2, 5583, was the day when he arrived on earth to bless his parents' home.

Leghorn, or Livorno, to the development of which the Medici gave particular attention, and, in which, on this account, the enjoyment of political rights was promised to all residents, naturally attracted a great number of Spanish Maranos. As early as 1593, the Jewish community of Leghorn was organized and was granted, from time to time, more or less communal autonomy. It was not long before it became famous for its wealth and scholarship. So prominent was it in commercial activity, that a statement was made by a traveler of the seventeenth century to the effect, that Christians, on account of the cessation of all business on Saturday, were obliged to keep the Jewish Sabbath.

Under the direction and with the inspiration of a long line of rabbinical scholars, who interested themselves both in Jewish science and Jewish mysticism, nothing Jewish, whether educational or philanthropic, was foreign to Leghorn Jewry. Even a Hebrew printing press was established there as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and another at the beginning of the eighteenth, from which issued numerous and various Hebrew works.

It was in an environment such as this, that Sabato Morais was destined to spend his childhood and youth and receive the training preliminary to his eventful career. His parents, Samuel and Bona Morais, had nine children, of whom he was the third. They were not blessed with much of the world's goods; but they, the descendents of Portuguese fugitives from persecution, were rich in the valuation of freedom, as was evidenced by the father's prominent participation in Italian political movements of that time.

Although his family's financial conditions recruited Sabato

Morais early to render help in the family's support, his personal predilection and his mother's wish prompted him to take up advanced ministerial instruction under Rabbis Funaro, Curiat and Abraham Baruch Piperno. Professor Salvatore De Beneditti of the University of Pisa was responsible for his acquaintanceship with some of the languages of the Semitic group.

His experience in teaching children in his native land, emboldened him to go to London in 1845, in order to secure the position of Second Hazzan in the Spanish-Portuguese Congregation of England's metropolis. Not succeeding in this effort, only on account of his lack of sufficient acquaintance with the English language, he returned for a short while to Leghorn; but in 1846, he was called to London to act as Hebrew Master in the "Orphans' School" of the Congregation, in which he had not been elected as Second Hazzan.

It was during his five years of service in London, that Morais came to know intimately Joseph Mazzini, the leader in the never-to-be-forgotten movement for the emancipation of the Italian people from almost crushing social handicaps. Mazzini, at that time, as did Abraham Lincoln later in America, played a prominent part in the moulding of Morais' thoughts and sympathies, touching the uplift of the larger humanity.

The year 1850 marks one of the most important, if not the most important, milestone in Morais' life. Isaac Leeser, who, despite his German birth and rearing, had been the spiritual guide of "Mikveh Israel" of Philadelphia, resigned his pulpit. Morais became an applicant for the vacant position and was deemed eminently fitted for it, because he, like the overwhelming majority of the constituency of "Mikveh Israel," was of Sefardic origin. He arrived in Philadelphia March 17, 1851, and was installed into office a few weeks later—on the thirteenth of April.

From the very moment of his coming to the United States, he made his influence felt. Philadelphia Jewry was no more united that was American Jewry as a whole. The recent German immigrant was not looked upon with favor by his Spanish-Portuguese coreligionists. The latter regarded himself socially better than the former. Such antagonism was calculated to defeat highly nec-

essary community co-operation. To the credit of Sabato Morais be it said, that he had no sympathy whatsoever for such Spanish-Portuguese snobbery, but was given to receiving every man בְּכָבֶד פָּנִים יפות with whole-hearted affability. With Morais, it was not the nationality that counted, but rather the genuine Jewishness of the man.

It should, moreover, be noted that, in Philadelphia, an endless variety of Jewish theological interpretations and of religious practice tended to make confusion worse confounded.

Not only did the countries from which Jews came to the United States determine a fixed Jewish doctrine and Jewish ceremonialism, but frequently, also, a given city or town in Europe suggested the kind of Judaism thought worthy of American transplantation. Almost every congregation presumed, therefore, to create its own ritual. For a man of conviction, desirous of leading his people aright, to keep his calm and composure amid such a *melieu*, was indeed a severe test. Morais proved himself equal to the emergency. If Morais at all ever manifested indignation against, not to say disgust with persons, it was only when he found himself disillusioned in their professed sincerity and boasted loyalty to Jewish tradition. While he was never given to compromise, he continued on friendly terms with his colleagues outside of Philadelphia, holding opposite views with respect to Judaism and its mission, as well as with those who were locally engaged with him in the common work.

Interesting, indeed, is the fact, that, when "Keneseth Israel" of Philadelphia celebrated the Seventieth Anniversary of the birth of Samuel Hirsch, its rabbi, Morais attended the private function given at Dr. Hirsch's home, to tender his hearty congratulations to the scholar whom the Congregation saw fit to honor. Morais' good judgment, at a time when others differed, frequently proved the means for the prevention of impending difficulties. Let me cite one noteworthy instance:

Philadelphia Jewry decided to hold a Memorial Service shortly after the death of the French Statesman, Adolphe Cremieux. The inter-congregational function was to take place in the "Rodef Sholom" synagogue on Broad Street. A question, which

was discussed by the ministers of the several congregations, preparatory to the Memorial Service, was, "How were the rabbis and cantors of the congregations to be attired?"

One man remarked that he always appeared in cap and gown; another, that he was usually dressed with cap, gown and *talith*; a third, that he appeared on the pulpit in a dress-suit with uncovered head, and so on. It was then that Morais stated, "It might be well on this occasion for all of us to appear for a change like gentlemen, wearing Prince Albert coats and hats, and in this latter respect, at the same time, conforming to the practice in vogue in "Rodef Sholom."

Although Morais never called himself "Rabbi," but merely "Hazzan," he was notwithstanding this fact, greatly respected for his scholarship by the Conservative and Reform rabbinate and easily became the leader of American orthodoxy. His steadily growing regard, power and prominence did not in any wise change him temperamentally. He remained the same attractive personality. He continued to be as dignified, unobtrusive, modest, self-denying, righteous, aye, almost saintly, as he had been, while still comparatively obscure and unknown. He measured up to the requirements set down by the Psalmist, when that illustrious singer remarked: *מי יעלה בהר יהוה ומי יקום במקום קדשו: נקי כפים ובר לבב אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשו ולא נשבע למרמה: ישא ברכה מאת יהוה וצדקה: מאלהי ישעו:* "Who shall ascend the mountain of the Lord and who shall stand in His holy place? He that is clean of hands and pure of heart; who hath not lifted up his soul to falsehood, nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive a blessing from the Lord and favor from the God of his salvation."

His native simplicity found expression in Morais' request with respect to the last rites held over his remains. Not only did he stipulate that there should be no eulogy at his funeral, but also that no Memorial Service should be held in his honor.

Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati, who preached and stood for a Judaism widely divergent from that which Morais advocated, said, when he learned of Morais' death, "Let us write upon the memorial tablet of the deceased teacher in Israel *ידיד יהוה ישכן לבטח* 'The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety.'"

That Morais' service to the cause of Israel was valued in our camp, The Central Conference of American Rabbis, is proved by a resolution adopted at our Convention, held in Atlantic City in the summer of 1898. (Yearbook, Vol. VIII, p. 59.)

What of Morais as a preacher and as an expounder of the Jewish religion? His sermons were carefully prepared. For the most part, he wrote them. He had the proper respect for the intelligence of his auditors. They were always based upon a Scriptural verse, taken from the pentateuchal or prophetic portion of the week. His every word rang true. For his actions squared with his profession. Nor were his sermons colorlessly religious. They always sounded the Jewish keynote and stressed Jewish obligation.

Being an Orthodox, it is but natural, that he should always have pleaded for the adherence to tradition and to the maintenance of Jewish ceremony. For him *תורה שבעל פה* "the oral Law," while not marked by unalterable fixity, was the complement of *תורה שבכתב* "the written Law." He had no patience with that spirit, which everlastingly seeks the new and the novel. Nor did he reckon with expediency. Sensationalism was hateful to him. That which might have justification in secular circles, he debarred from the sacred precincts of religious, and, more particularly, Jewish thinking *להבדיל בין הקודש ובין החול* "to differentiate between the holy and the profane," and wanted also his people to acquire that desirable sense of discernment.

He never strove for effect. He never employed oratorical devices to rivet the attention of his hearers. His earnestness and enthusiasm, while speaking from the pulpit, declared that his were *דברים היוצאים מן הלב נכנסים אל הלב* words, which, because issuing from the heart, went direct to the heart.

While Morais' sermons, and we judge entirely by the ones which are available in print, reveal a thorough grasp of rabbinic theology, they are not belabored with a super-abundance of citations from rabbinical literature, but are rather surcharged with biblical passages. For, with all abiding reverence for Morais, it may be asserted, that Morais preferably made a special and comprehensive study of the Scriptures.

But Morais was more than a preacher. Already we have alluded to the circumstance, that he translated his own pulpit lessons into conduct. He was a leading factor in the furtherance of the Hebrew Sunday School movement in Philadelphia, to which thousands upon thousands of men and women, now scattered throughout the United States, owe their religious instruction. The cause of the Young Men's Hebrew Association in his community, Morais advanced along educational lines, with the help which his lectures on Jewish History rendered.

In 1858, Morais' Jewish consciousness came signally to the fore. Edgar Mortara was taken by papal authority from his parental home in Bologna. The boy had been baptised by the machinations of his nurse and the Church consequently demanded his Catholic education. The President of the United States was asked to intercede. Intercession was not granted. Morais became incensed and refused to read in the course of the service the following Sabbath in "Mikveh Israel" הַנְתֵּן תְּשׁוּעָה a prayer for the preservation and protection of the government at the hands of Divine Providence. While his Congregation insisted, and properly so, that the prayer should not, in the future, be eliminated, though the government do what it will, we are led to admire Morais for his eloquent manifestation of Jewish indignation.

In 1882, the Russian May Laws were enforced. Many fugitives came to these shores. A large proportion landed in the Philadelphia port. It was at this time, that his philanthropy proved itself not bounded by national prejudices. He knew neither Yiddish nor German, although he had mastered with ease Hebrew, Aramaic, French, Italian, Spanish and Ladino. And yet, he understood these people, representing the "tribe of the wandering foot," because, in this case, "eye looked into eye," and realized that, by virtue of a common history, a common literature, a common idealism and a common suffering, all Jews were brothers.

Effective preacher as Morais was, and fine type of a Jew as he proved himself at all times, he stands out conspicuously as an efficient and indefatigable teacher. His home was a little Academy. There young men were wont to gather for private instruction. Some of the men, who have become leaders in

American Jewish communities, either in lay or ministerial capacity, monumentalize his instructional activity. Neither was Morais satisfied with all the good that his private tutoring accomplished. Not more than a dozen years after his landing in America, he made an attempt, together with others, to create a Jewish Academy in the Western Hemisphere.

July 1, 1867, Maimonides College was founded and, during the six years of the institution's existence, Morais held the professorship of Bible and Biblical literature. With the closing of the doors of Maimonides College, Morais did not give up the hope of seeing soon another similar institution created.

In 1877, together with Doctors Hirsch and Jastrow, Reverends George Jacobs and Meyer Elkin, his colleagues in Philadelphia, Morais established a School in the Vestry Rooms of "Keneseth Israel" for the study of Hebrew and Rabbinics. But this School, no more than its predecessor, was destined to survive.

It should not be at all surprising, if, because Philadelphia was the hotbed of opposition to Isaac M. Wise and the Hebrew Union College which Wise founded, this second effort on the part of the Philadelphia rabbinate was undertaken. Morais' willingness to lend his good offices to the establishment of a Seminary in Philadelphia moreover does not indicate that he was unalterably opposed to the Hebrew Union College. His acceptance to be an official examiner at the Hebrew Union College bears more than slight testimony to this fact. Notwithstanding all this, and justly so, because of his Orthodox conviction, Morais fostered the dream of seeing a Jewish Seminary for the training of Orthodox rabbis at some time or other called into life. This, his dream, became all the more fervent with the graduation of the first class from the Hebrew Union College. In connection with that graduation, a banquet was given, at which, unfortunately, through the oversight of a Committee, food Jewishly unfit was served.

But, at no time did Morais feel so keenly the need of an Orthodox Jewish Seminary as he did in 1885. In that year a noteworthy Conference convened in Pittsburgh. It made the following announcement:

"1. We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite, and in every mode, source, or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our Holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers, in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended, midst continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation, this God-idea as the central religious truth for the human race.

"2. We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as the priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domain of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age, and at times clothing its conception of Divine Providence and Justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.

"3. We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only its moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

"4. We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress, originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

"5. We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

"6. We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfilment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who operate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.

"7. We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject, as ideas not rooted in Judaism, the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward.

"8. In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society."

An additional resolution was adopted, reading:

"Inasmuch as the so-called Abrahamitic rite is by many, and the most competent rabbis no longer considered as a *conditio sine qua non* of receiving male Gentiles into the fold of Judaism, and inasmuch as a new legislation on this and kindred subjects is one of the most imperative and practical demands of our Reform movement, be it

"Resolved, That a committee of five, one of them to be the president of this conference, be entrusted with framing a full report to be submitted for final action to the next Conference."

And still another resolution was passed in these words:

"Whereas we recognize the importance of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a bond with our great past and the symbol of the unity of Judaism the world over; and whereas, on the other hand, it can not be denied that there is a vast number of working

men and others who, from some cause or other, are not able to attend the services on the sacred day of rest; be it resolved, that there is nothing in the spirit of Judaism or its laws to prevent the introduction of Sunday services in localities where the necessity for such services appears or is felt."

Morais could not subscribe to the Pittsburgh Conference and felt that, whereas many of the rabbis who endorsed the Pittsburgh declaration were interested in and officially connected with the Hebrew Union College, a Seminary should be called into existence, which would, in its platform, repudiate what he considered the radical reform movement.

Forthwith, Morais put himself into communication with men in the East, sharing his point of view, and, after carefully projected plans and much traveling and preaching on his part, his undying hope was realized.

In January, 1886, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the institution of his dreams was opened, with the following aims, as stated in the preamble to its constitution and by-laws.

"The necessity having been made manifest for associated and organized effort on the part of the Jews of America, faithful to the Mosaic Law and ancestral traditions, for the purpose of keeping alive the true Judaic spirit; in particular, by the establishment of a Seminary, where the Bible shall be impartially taught and rabbinical literature faithfully expounded, and more especially where youths, desirous of entering the ministry, may be thoroughly grounded in Jewish knowledge and inspired by the precept and the example of their instructors with the love of the Hebrew language and a spirit of fidelity and devotion to the Jewish Law; the subscribers have, in accordance with a resolution adopted at a meeting of ministers held Shebat 25, 5646, (January 31, 1886,) at the Synagog "Shearith Israel," New York, agreed to organize the Jewish Theological Seminary Association."

A comparison between the Orthodoxy for which Sabato Morais stood and that which was sponsored by Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888) author of the celebrated "Ben Usiel" letters, that of Israel Hildesheimer (1820-1899) founder of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary at Berlin, and that of Marcus Lehmann

(1831-1890) editor of the "Israelit" of Mayence, all of whom were opponents of the movement known in Germany as *Die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, responsible for the German so-called Reform School of the interpretation of our ancestral faith, may prove illuminating, but a few cursory remarks, touching this point, shall have to suffice in this instance.

The Orthodox Judaism of Germany, running parallel in time and influence with that of Sabato Morais, is, even by those differing with it, regarded as having for its basis historical tradition. It could always lay claim to a carefully elaborated philosophy.

Whatever else, however, the foundation of Sabato Morais' Orthodoxy may have been, it lacked markedly in this respect. It, on the contrary, made up for said deficiency by a romanticism almost bordering on cabbalistic mysticism.

Nor was Sabato Morais' Orthodoxy of the same type as that of our recently arrived Russian immigrants to this country. The latter's Judaism is Talmudic, both in concept and practice, while that of Morais and his followers reckoned mostly with the spirit of the Bible and only in part with subsequent rabbinical authority.

It may be asked,—what would Morais' attitude have been toward modern Zionism? Without attempting to pass judgment in this paper on Zionism's justification, I do not believe that Morais would have endorsed any other than that which is compatible with his theology. He was a firm believer in the restoration of the spiritual Zion, advocated by Orthodox Judaism in all centuries and finding expression in many a passage of the composite liturgy of the synagog.

To him, Palestine was to be not only the homeland for the Jewish people, but also the rich soil for the nurture of the Jewish religion. With fervor, therefore, he could bless the Lord, *המחזיר שכינתו לעציון* who would restore His divine presence unto Zion.

The Chair in Biblical Literature and Exegesis at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America was filled by Sabato Morais during his lifetime, and upon his death was designated "The Sabato Morais Professorship."

Morais also did considerable literary work, both popular and

scholarly. Much from his pen is found in the files of the *Occident*, *Asmonean*, *Menorah*, *Jewish Record* (Philadelphia), *American Hebrew* (New York), and *Jewish Exponent* (Philadelphia). What he has written may be classified as polemical, epistolary, homiletical, meditational, historical, theological and critical.

Let us consider two cases of the polemical material from Morais' pen. The first case is the following:

Dr. Illowy had sent an article on *Proselytes* both to the *Messenger* and *Occident*, attempting to show that the rabbis are opposed to *Proselytes* and condemning the admittance of *Proselytes* in our time. Morais disapproved the force and meaning of rabbinical passages quoted by Illowy and shows himself more liberal than his opponent in the acceptance of converts. Morais says:

"We ought to be exceedingly chary in admitting into the Household of Jacob the son or daughter of the stranger. When pressed to acquiesce in his or her desire, we ought to thoroughly and maturely investigate the case. If our minds harbor any suspicion regarding the earnest sincerity of the applicant, we ought unhesitatingly to refuse becoming a party to the profanation of religion; but if we have no reason to doubt the conviction which prompts the request, we should deem ourselves in duty-bound to lend our countenance and assistance, in order that others, like ourselves, may take shelter beneath the protecting wing of the Lord God of Israel." (*Vide, Occident*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 34-40. April, 1865.)

Let us take a second case:

In *Lippincott's Magazine* for May, 1868, appeared an article on the *Talmud* in which the *Talmud* was grossly misrepresented. Morais thereupon wrote a stricture, from which we quote the following:

"An impartial critic will not judge the *Talmud* from his present standpoint. He will transport himself to the time and climes in which it was written." (*Vide, Occident*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, pp. 164-171, July, 1868.)

Among more pretentious contributions from Morais' pen, covering various subjects, are to be mentioned:

A brief work on the *Book of Esther*. A *Biography of S. D. Luzzatto*, written originally in English by Morais, translated into Italian by Dr. J. Luzzatto, and subsequently translated into German by Dr. M. Gruenwald. An article on *Samuel David Luzzatto*, written for the *Occident*, January, 1866. (Vol. XXIII, No. 10, pp. 442-451.) *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, by S. D. Luzzatto. (5th Biennial Report of Jewish Theological Seminary.) Essay on the *Jew in Italy*. (2nd Biennial Report of Jewish Theological Seminary.) Essay on *Italian Jewish Literature*. (A lecture reprinted from the report of the Gratz College of Philadelphia, pp. 52-74.)

It should be observed in this connection, that already in 1848, Morais revised for Miss Miriam Mendes Belisario a Hebrew-English vocabulary, issued in London.

Master, as Morais was, of the Hebrew language and also admirer of the immortal singer, Jehudah Halevi, his poetic soul prompted him frequently to indite his thoughts in verse. Thus, we have from his lyre, among other productions, a Hebrew sonnet, in which he pleads for the cultivation of the Hebrew language, (*Vide, Menorah*, Vol. III, p. 371—1887); another sonnet, entitled the *History of the Jewish Congregation of Leghorn*, in which he praises the Leghorn community, (*Vide, Menorah*, Vol. XI, pp. 360-361, 1891); and a Hebrew poem in honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, (*Vide, Menorah*, Vol. XV, p. 204, 1893). It should be remarked here, that Morais' Hebrew style is biblical in dialect.

The last work, which, strangely and luckily he completed shortly before his death, was the translation of the "Book of Jeremiah," for the Bible of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Referring to this translation, Dr. Kaufman Kohler remarked:

"He (Morais) himself, was a sort of Jeremiah wailing and weeping over the decline of Orthodox Judaism, * * * * and yet he had an abiding faith in God. He was full of hope and energy to the last. He hoped and toiled for a rejuvenated and regenerated Judaism."

In addition to the children remaining of the family of seven, born to him by his wife, Clara Esther Weil, whom he married in

1855 in Philadelphia, thousands of people throughout this country and in other lands bewailed Morais' death, when, on November 11th, 1897, he answered the summons to enter ישיבה של מעלה the Academy in Realms Eternal.

Great was the recognition which was accorded his beautiful soul during his earthly life. If, because of his academic attainments, the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the honorary degree, Doctor of Laws, he being the first Jew to receive this degree from said institution, all who knew Morais and understand the perspective into which he deserves to be placed, are ready to designate him one of the "giants," toiling for the good of the Jew and Judaism in America in earlier times.

A proof of the rare esteem in which Sabato Morais, as "giant," was held is certainly the suggestion, which Dr. Henry Pereira Mendes of New York once made to his congregation, that Morais be extended by it the call to become its Senior Rabbi, while he, Mendes, who had long been in the service of the Congregation, was willing to act as Morais' associate.

As Mikveh Israel honored itself by memorializing Sabato Morais, its former reader, preacher and teacher, on Wednesday, April 18, 1923, marking the hundredth anniversary of Sabato Morais' birth, so we honor ourselves, though representing a different tendency in Judaism, by our study of his life and activity.

Would that we had more such leaders—great in wisdom and understanding; untiring in service and sacrifice! Basing our thought upon the Saying of the Rabbis, we may justly declare, that Morais was a "sage" whose close kinsmen in spirit, and, therefore, also, rich heirs to his achievement, we, of this generation, may regard ourselves.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Marvin Nathan: The tribute paid by Rabbi Rosenau to the memory of Sabato Morais, so exhaustive in its treatment, so beautiful in its character, covers practically every aspect of the life of that great religious teacher and spiritual leader so that there is nought left for me but to add a few more details,

to apply a few more touches to bring out into greater relief, if that were possible, some of his striking characteristics.

His humility was one of his finest qualities. It was at the urging of his friends that he was led to try for the position of Assistant Cantor of the Bevis St. Synagog in London which brought, a year later, the appointment of Head Master of the Orphan's School of the same synagog and with it the opportunity of further training in the English language. It was at the persuasion of his friends again that he was induced to try for the vacant pulpit of Mikveh Israel Synagog in Philadelphia, the subsequent election to which has meant so much for the development of Judaism in America. The offer of an election to Shaarith Israel, the Portuguese Synagog in New York City, with its larger field of effort and an increase in salary he declined with thanks. He voluntarily consented to a reduction in salary which continued for several years when his congregation was in straitened financial conditions. He would not accept the appointment of Grand Chaplain of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. He would permit of no other title but Mr. to his name until he had received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Pennsylvania. Without any self-seeking it was his untiring efforts, his distinguished ability, his unquestioned scholarship that singled him out as the leader of his day and generation.

He was fearless in championing the cause of right. He inherited the love of freedom from his grandfather and his father. He was deeply influenced by his association with Mazzini in England. He was a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln. During the Civil War he preached in behalf of Abolition. For this he was deprived of the privilege of preaching. A year later when the privilege was restored it was with the distinct understanding that the Rabbi must speak on religious and moral subjects only,—somewhat of a different attitude on the part of the pew in those days than that demanded at present. But he was elected an honorary member of the Union League, the most important political organization in Philadelphia, the first Jew to be so honored. During a strike in which the employers and employees were Jews, he pleaded on Yom Kippur with the masters

of industry, quoting from the well-known Haphtarah of Isaiah, "Do you fast for strife and contention? On the day of your fast you exact all your gains. Is not rather this the fast that the Lord hath proclaimed: that ye break the bonds of wickedness and let the oppressed go free? Visit the homes of your employees, see their misery and then make your amendment." The strike was settled.

He was ever liberal and broad minded. "He had too high a regard," he said, "for those of more advanced liberal ideas to cast the least reflection upon their honest opinion." He worked with them in communal efforts. He was the representative Jew invited to all important functions of the non-Jew. But in his own pulpit he championed the cause of historical Judaism. Against Christian choirs in the synagog he applied the verse from Amos, "Take away the noise of thy songs. I will not hear the melody of thine instruments." "When the pulpit," he says, "instead of educating a rising generation in the ideals of the faith, becomes an arena for polemics, accusing the Talmud of distorting the teachings of Moses, a Rab Huna of old would apply to such a pulpit the verse of Proverbs, 'Many it has caused to fall (spiritually) slain.'" He arose in indignation and in vehemence denounced what he considered an unhistorical statement, an unjewish attitude manifested in an installation sermon of a newly elected Rabbi in a Reform Congregation in Philadelphia. But his sermon ended with the words "not in anger, nor in bitterness but because of the abundance of our woes and misery have I spoken hitherto."

And his was an uncompromising attitude. Though arguments were advanced to convince him of the need of making some slight changes and concessions in the service in the synagog, though he felt the keen disappointment at missing faces that at one time had been regular attendants at the services, he remained ever loyal to the truth as God gave him light to see the truth and from that he would not waver nor turn aside.

He believed that learning ought to be a means of union not of division. Institutions of learning ought to be without bias, without partisanship, without party labels. On a platform of education all parties ought to unite. He worked with men of different religious points of view in Maimonides College until

for lack of funds it was compelled to close its doors. With this belief he greeted with joy the founding of the Hebrew Union College. He felt that it would train an educated ministry and would provide Rabbis and teachers for all the congregations in the land. It is not altogether true, so I feel, as represented in the previous paper, that he gave only a half-hearted interest to the college. He bestowed upon it his undivided allegiance and devotion. He was an official examiner and spoke on several occasions at the college. He pleaded with his own congregation, Mikveh Israel, an orthodox, Portuguese Congregation, to join the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and aid in the maintenance of the college. Dr. Jastrow, even before Morais, felt that one college never would maintain itself for all Jews under existing conditions. It was not until 1885, with the issuing of the Pittsburgh Platform, that he realized his hopes were doomed to disappointment and that he turned definitely to the organizing of another seminary.

Though Morais quotes from the Bible much more extensively than from talmudical and rabbinical literature, he recognizes that binding authority of tradition as developed in the Talmud and the codes. His orthodoxy or conservatism is clearly revealed in the thoughts he expressed in the sermons he preached in pleading for aid in organizing the Seminary. "The students" he said on one occasion, "shall study the living word of God in the original, not from Robertson Smith and the like. They will not seek knowledge of the Bible at the hand of the German critics nor from the work of anyone, Gentile or Jew, who denies the Mosaic authorship of the Bible." On another occasion, he said, "The future rabbis shall be what the name implies, expounders of scriptural and talmudical ordinances, with reverence for the past and profound devotion for Historical Judaism." And again, "The students shall study to a religious purpose, not archaeologically, to become ardent votaries to the service of Israel's God, not students of a chameleon-like philosophy, ever changing with man's temper and surroundings." And he protested vehemently against the argument that Historical Judaism is incompatible with Americanism, a similar argument used to a different purpose today. Morais said, "The Jew can obey the Sinaitic precepts and traditional rules

and nevertheless mingle in fellowship with his country-men, seek the welfare of the land in which he lives and cultivate the arts and sciences which the present age fosters. The unhistorical assertion that liberality of thought and action implies the abandonment of ancestral practices and the construction of a novel system void of all Hebraic characteristics must be refuted by living testimonials. The blatant talk, nowadays very noisy, about the incompatibility of Judaism and Americanism, so to term it, will cease when the broadly cultured ministers shall preach the sanctities of the ordinances and shall strengthen the lessons with their example."

The Seminary he called his Benjamin, the child of his old age. He entered upon this work when he was sixty-three years old. He gave to it his unabating zeal, his untiring effort, his unswerving devotion. Kohut, Jastrow, Szold and others helped him but he carried the greater part of the burden. He preached and pleaded for aid; he raised and collected the funds; he outlined the curriculum and was Professor of Bible. The Seminary was founded and flourished. But after his death in 1897, the dark days came; in 1900, the darkest of them all. But it was the darkness before the dawn. With the reorganization of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Professor Schechter was called to its presidency. The Seminary has grown and developed, has become a monument to the hopes, the ideals, the life, of Sabato Morais.

Of all the achievements of Moses, his crowning glory is that he was called, *Moshe Rabbenu*, 'Moses, our teacher.' The outstanding characteristic of Morais is that above everything else he was a teacher. This he achieved by preaching and by writing, in synagog and in school, in the Hebrew Educational Society, the Hebrew Sunday School Society, in the Y. M. H. A., in Maimonides College, in the Seminary and by private instruction for young and old, for beginner and advanced pupils. And when the end came, unexpectedly, he was found at his work of teaching. He raised many disciples. Many of the leaders of Philadelphia Jewry were his pupils. He stamped his ideals, his personality, upon Judaism in America. Jewish thought today is making for conservatism. The ideals, the achievements, the life, the memory of the righteous shall be for blessing.

K

DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE IN THE VERNACULAR

(Judeo-German, prior to the Reform Movement)

SOLOMON B. FREEHOF

INTRODUCTION

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, there developed in Germany an extensive Judeo-German literature consisting of story-books, ethical treatises, songs, dictionaries (cf. J. Perles, *Hebraisch. u. Aram. Studien*, p. 31), translations of the daily and the holiday prayerbooks, and manuals of private devotion. These manuals of private devotion, called usually *Seder Tehinnoth u-Vakoshoth* are the subject matter of this paper.

The Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* have never been adequately dealt with; in fact, judging by how little has been written on them, it would seem that they have been neglected almost completely by students of Jewish literature.¹ Perhaps this neglect is due to the fact that these prayerbooks are in the humbler vernacular and not in the more dignified Hebrew, or perhaps to the fact that most of these books were anonymous, the work of unknown writers, and thus lacked the prestige of famous authorship, or perhaps also because being written primarily for women,² they

¹ The only scholars who, to my knowledge, have published articles and books on the *Tehinnoth* are Gruenbaum who wrote *Juedischdeutsche Chrestomathie*, Leipzig 1864-6; and *Juedischdeutsche Literatur* in Winter u. Wuensche, vol. 3. Even he is interested in the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* only as they form part of Judeo-German literature in general, Pines: *Histoire de La Lit. Judeo-Allemande*. There is also an article on Judeo-German literature by A. Bruell in Bruell's *Jahrbuecher*, 1877, (vol. III.) p. 87f., but this article contains no mention of the *Tehinnoth*. Steinschneider in *Serapeum*, 1864-6 gives a list of *Tehinnoth*, but discusses them only bibliographically.

² The books of private devotion were written primarily for women, and

dealt with the humble needs of every day life rather than with the great philosophic problems of faith. Whatever be the reason of it, the fact remains that this literature has been neglected to such an extent that, although a century ago every Jewish household in Germany must have possessed a prayerbook of private devotion in the vernacular, a *Tehinna*, this flood of books has gradually disappeared, and today, a sixteenth or seventeenth century *Tehinna* has become the rarest of books in Jewish libraries.

Yet surely this literature hardly deserves such neglect, for it has had a long history and has covered many centuries of Jewish life. A Judeo-German book of private devotion appeared

made a special appeal to them, by providing prayers for the three commandments which were specifically incumbent upon women, and also prayers in time of childbirth, prayers for the blessing of worthy children, etc. The headings of many of the prayers address themselves directly to women. Thus, the fifty-fifth *Tehinna* (in the Sulzbach edition, 1798) is headed as follows: 'The following prayer for sustenance should be uttered by women.' The seventy-second is headed as follows: 'A widow should utter the following prayer with great devotion.' The ninety-fifth is to be said 'Wenn ein Weib hat has vesholom ein Krankheit.' Furthermore many of the *Tehinnoth* even when their headings do not address themselves to women tacitly assume that they will be read by women and therefore contain petitions for the welfare of husband and children.' (Cf. eg. No. 75, Sulzbach).

Yet it is not only for women that the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* were written or the Judeo-German translations made. Whoever could not read Hebrew was expected to make use of these books. The introduction to the translations of the *Mahsor* published in Sulzbach, 1709, says: 'Whoever cannot read (Hebrew), be it man or woman, must admit that this book will be useful to him.' The translation of the *Mahsor* published in Sulzbach, 1762, addresses itself to 'simple folk and women' (*gemeine Leut' und Noshim*). As to the *Tehinnoth* we find that while certain of the prayers were addressed especially to women, most of them do not thus specify. Thus the usual heading is 'This *Tehinna* shall be said with devotion every day' or 'this *Tehinna* shall be said evening and morning in the *Tefilla*' or 'This *Tehinna* shall be said at the close of the Sabbath.' In fact the headings to quite a number of the prayers indicate that they are addressed specifically to men. The eighteenth *Tehinna* (in the edition Sulzbach, 1698) is headed: 'A beautiful prayer for prosperity for a business man, to be said especially on the day when he is fasting.' The seventy-third *Tehinna* has the following heading addressed both to men and to women: 'When a man is fasting, he should say the following, 'whether it be man or woman, he shall say it after *Minha* before he breaks his fast.'

The fact that Judeo-German was sometimes called 'Weiber deutsch' indicates, of course, that it was used more by women than by men; but does not mean that the literature in that language was intended for women alone. Although originally the *Tehinnoth* may have been written chiefly for women, the use of them soon spread among all who could not read Hebrew fluently.

in Venice as early as 1552 (Steinschneider, *Serapeum*, 1864-6 No. 414), and translations of the regular prayerbook into the vernacular appeared even earlier (Ichenhausen, 1544, cf. Gruenbaum, *Jued. Deutsch. Chrestomathie*, p. 296f.). Since the sixteenth century, the number of *Tehinnoth* increased to such an extent that the partial list in Steinschneider's catalog of the Bodleian library describes forty three different *Tehinnoth* in Judeo-German, some of them appearing in many editions and each edition probably quite large. Ben Jacob in his *Ozer Haseforim* states that there are too many editions of the *Tehinnoth* to be enumerated.

But it is not only the former extent of the literature which makes it important for Jewish life, as the fact that the very nature of the literature makes it a valuable source for history. Being the prayerbooks of simple people they are naive. There is no pose or attempt to gloss over the true circumstances of the life of the worshipers. The books were written by humble men for the use of humble men and women and so are bound to reflect, without bias or the roseate coloring of art, the actual conditions of the life of the Jews in central Europe for three whole centuries. Perhaps a biography like that of Glückel von Hameln, written in the seventeenth century, (edited by Kaufmann, Frankfurt, 1896) may be a more direct source of the social life of the German Jews, but biographies are inclined to read all events from the point of view of the individual concerned. Besides we have only one such biography dating from this period and should be glad to make use of all other sources which may reflect social conditions, the intimate facts of daily life.

Notice, for example, the heading of two of the *Tehinnoth*, 'Wenn ein Weib ihr Mann wegreisen thut, zu sein Guten soll sie alle Tag die *Tehinna* für ihm sagen mit grosser *Kavanna*,' or 'Die *Tehinna* soll ein Frau sagen wenn ihr Mann nit derheim ist.' There comes to mind the life of the German Jews in those centuries, and their chief occupation, traveling through the villages of Germany engaged in petty trade. (The two prayers are found in the Sulzbach *Tehinna*, 1798, No. 59-No. 60). The dangers of the journey and the anxiety of the wife for the safety

of her husband is reflected clearly in the words of the prayer (No. 59):—

‘May he be delivered on his journey from all trouble and from all evil misfortunes which frequently come. I beseech Thee, dear God, protect my husband against all false accusations, that he may be preserved on his journeying against all the terrors of the world.’

‘er soll auf der Weg nizzul werden von alle Zores und von allen die boesen Unglueck was da pflegen Chas ve Sholom ein Menschen zuzukommen. Ich bit dich du lieber Gott als du sollst mein Mann hueten vor Bilbulim dermit als er soll behuet weren auf den Weg vor alle die Forcht in die Welt.’

The terrors of their world, the poor strange Jew traveling through the unruly villages, the butt of coarse and cruel jests, the legitimate prey of all the men of violence, the false accusations and the helplessness of the victims, all leave their trace in the *Tehinnoth*.

In fact the terror under which the whole people of Israel lived in those days in Europe is constantly reflected in this literature. The fifteenth *Tehinna* in the Sulzbach edition of 1798 which is to be said ‘Mit Kavana alle Tag’ contains this phrase: “Deliver me and all of Israel from all evil decrees and deliver me, O God, Father and King, from all sorts of evil eye’ (Sei mich und Kol Yisroel Matzil vor alle boese Gezeros). In the *Tehinna* for Saturday night (Sulzbach No. 13), we find the following phrase: As for those who plan against us and against all of Israel evil council and wicked thoughts, O frustrate Thou their plans. No. 26 has the following (In Sulzbach, 1798 and in Furth, c. 1800.):

‘Deliver me, my husband and my children and all of Israel from the hands of the cruel ones, from all bonds and from all evil imprisonments (*tefissoth*).’ The phrase in a later edition is:—‘beshirm col Yisroel vor achzorim Haenden,’ but in the older one (Sulzbach, 1798) it reads vor Nochrin Haenden. Evidently in those days they feared that every *Nochri* might be an *Achzori*, a potential cruel oppressor. No other literature can reveal more than these chance remarks in prayers the shadows which darkened the lives of our fathers. The examples given could be

multiplied to show how the *Tehinnoth* could be well used as incidental sources for the social history of the Jews in Germany.

There is another direction in which the *Tehinnoth* can be properly used as a source; namely, as a source of the actual theology of the masses of the people. Books of theology are after all an uncertain guide in a search for the actual theology of the people. They are too scientific, are inclined to omit many things which cannot be philosophically defended. They represent the doctrines which the learned author frequently believes the people *ought* to have rather than the uncritical belief which the people actually follow. Frequently too, the great theological works especially of the religion of a minority are distinctly apologetic in their tone. They try to show that Judaism can be defended from the Aristotelian or from the Kantian point of view, or whatever be the prevailing philosophy. But the masses of the people are not primarily concerned with what the world thinks of their idea of God or of immortality. With them religion is a life rather than a science. To discover the actual theological beliefs of the people one must look into their prayerbooks. There when the individual is alone with God he speaks to Him in terms in which he actually conceives Him, he prays for things that he believes God will grant, and expresses hopes which really move his heart. A prayerbook can reveal to what extent official theology has actually become a part of the popular mind. Yet even in prayerbooks we must make a distinction. It may frequently be that an old traditional book will contain ideas that are no longer vital to the worshiper, and are retained merely through the preserving force of tradition. The actual living theology of the people can be found only in contemporary books of devotion. And it is precisely such naive simple contemporary books, written by the people for their own religious needs which we have before us in the *Tehinnoth*.

Because the *Tehinnoth* have been so little studied, the function of this paper must be to give merely a general survey of this literature, to describe the contents of the books, to show the influences under which they developed and thus fit them into their proper place in the general scheme of Jewish literature, and

to discuss some of the interesting problems of origin and construction which the *Tehinnoth* present.

THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR

The most noteworthy characteristic of the *Tehinna* literature is, of course, its use of the vernacular. Side by side with the regular prayerbooks in the traditional language of prayer, we have here a large literature in the language of every day. This use of the language of life for the language of prayer is not a new phenomenon in Judaism. It has ample precedent in the history of the liturgy. The religion which was the first to supplant completely a sacrificial cult by *Avoda she-belev*, the service of the heart, the religion which was the first to raise prayer to the dignified status of the regular and exclusive mode of worship, such a religion could never have countenanced mechanical worship in a language meaningless to the worshiper. The use of the language of the people as the language of worship in the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* has, as may well be expected, full justification in Jewish law. It may be well here to sketch the history of the use of the vernacular in Jewish prayer.

In the time of the Mishna when Hebrew was still the language of scholars but had ceased definitely to be the language of the people in general, the need of understanding the meaning of the prayers was fully appreciated. We find the following law in Mishna Sota (VII, 1): 'These may be said in any language: —the *Shema*, the *Tefilla* and grace after meals.' Thus we see that the chief elements of the daily service, the *Shema* and the *Tefilla* need not be said in Hebrew. The Babylonian Talmud (b. Sota 32b) discussing the question of saying the *Shema* in the vernacular adduces a Tannaitic source in which the opinion of the majority of the teachers is that the *Shema* may be said in any language because the word *Shema*, 'Hear' means also 'Understand' hence implying that the *Shema* should be said in any language which the worshiper understands.

In the discussion of the question of the language in which the *Tefilla* is to be said, the Talmud (B. Sota 33a) says that the *Tefilla* may be uttered in the vernacular because prayer is a

plea for mercy and man may give voice to it in any language he wishes to use. The Palestinian Talmud (J. Sota 21b) states that the *Tefilla* should be said in the vernacular so that a man may be able properly to add his personal petitions to the regular *Tefilla*.

This opinion is accepted by all the later authorities. Thus Maimonides (*Hilhoth Keriat Shema*, II, 10) says that a man may say the *Shema* in any language which he can understand. Jacob b. Asher (in *Tur Orah Hayyim*, No. 62) and Joseph Karo (*Shulhan Aruch*, *Orah Hayyim* No. 62, 2) give the same decision. All three authorities add that in whatever language the *Shema* be recited the worshiper must be careful to pronounce the words as carefully as the Hebrew words must be pronounced. The purpose of this additional regulation seems to be to prevent the vernacular prayer itself from being recited mechanically and without understanding.

As to the *Tefilla*, Jacob b. Asher (*Tur Orah Hayyim* 101), and Joseph Karo (*Shulhan Aruch Orah Hayyim*, 101, 4) cite three varying opinions. First, that the public *Tefilla* may be said in any language but that when the regular *Tefilla* is recited privately it must be said in Hebrew; second, that the regular *Tefilla* whether uttered publicly or privately may be said in any language, but that private petitions uttered for various personal needs must be said in Hebrew; and third, that any prayer, public or private, the regular *Tefilla* or personal petitions for any occasion may be said in any language, except Aramaic.³ Jacob b. Asher gives

³ The objection to the use of Aramaic above all the other vernaculars is based upon the statement of Rabbi Johanan bar Napacha in *B. Sota*, 33a, that the ministering angels will not pay attention to the prayer of any man who utters his petition in Aramaic, because the ministering angels do not understand the Aramaic language. However in spite of this objection on the part of Rabbi Johanan we have a number of prayers dating from the Gaonic times which are in the Aramaic language, the *Yekum Purkon* in the Sabbath service, a petition for the welfare of the schools of Babylon, the *Selicha Moron derishmaya*; and even earlier than Gaonic times the Aramaic translation of the *Kedusha* in *Uva Letzion* (cf. *Ha-Eshkol*, p. 33) and also the *Kaddish*. The *Tosfoth to Berachot*, 3a discusses the reason for the *Kaddish* being in Aramaic and says: 'All of them did not understand Hebrew, therefore the *Kaddish* was in Aramaic which they all understood since this was their language.' Evidently the objection of Rabbi Johanan to the use of Aramaic in petitions was more academic than practical.

this last opinion as that of his father and seems to prefer it. The whole law as to the use of the vernacular is clearly expressed in *Tosafoth* to *Sota* 32a, namely, that the *Shema*, the *Tefilla* and the grace after meals may be said in any vernacular provided the worshiper understands the vernacular he uses. (cf. also the *Be'er Heteb* to *Shulhan Aruch Orah Hayyim* 62, 2).

Turning for a moment from the regular legal codes, we find the following admirable statement on the use of the vernacular in the *Sefer Hasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki, p. 9): 'If people who do not know Hebrew come to you, tell them to study the prayer-book in the language which they can understand for prayer depends upon the understanding of the heart. If the heart does not know what is uttered by the mouth, of what avail is it? Therefore it is better to pray in the language which one understands.'

Yet although Jewish law is absolutely clear upon the right to use the vernacular in prayer and although Hebrew has not been the language of the Jewish people in general since about the second pre-Christian century, the main prayers have nevertheless been recited chiefly in Hebrew. This is due to the fact that a large proportion of the people could understand Hebrew fairly well although they did not speak it, and because Hebrew was, after all, the *Loshon Hakodesh*, the language particularly suited for prayer. Thus it was that people did not usually take advantage of their right to recite the *Shema* and the *Tefilla* in the language of every day. It is interesting to note how this loyal conservatism is held up to scorn in the Judeo-German prayerbooks. In the introduction to the translation of the *Siddur* by Joseph ben Jakar (Ichenhausen, 1544) the translator justifies his book in the following words:

'I consider those people foolish who wish to recite their prayers in Hebrew although they do not understand a word of it. I wonder how they can have any spirit of devotion in their prayers. Therefore I have decided to publish the *Siddur* in the German language and later to add other books in the same language.'

The original reads as follows:

Drum halt ich vor eitel Toren
 Die in Loshon Hakodesh villen oren
 Und verstehen drinnen kein Wort
 Ich wolt doch gern wissen nort (nur)
 Wie sie koennen haben vor ein Kavvone
 Drum haben mir gemacht ein maskonne
 Zur drucken die Tefilla in Deutscher Sprach
 Und andere Seforim mehr dernoeh.

(Text given in Gruenbaum, *Jud. Chrestomathie*, p. 298).

The Judeo-German translation of the *Mahzor* (published in Amsterdam, 1709) has the following introduction:

'Prayer without devotion is like the body without a soul. This means that whoever utters his prayer to God, but does not speak with an earnest heart, he is like a human body which has no life in it.—Therefore any man or woman who cannot read Hebrew must admit that a *Mahzor* such as this will be more useful to him and of more benefit to his soul than a golden ring or a silver girdle.—When each one will be able to utter his prayer with devotion and will understand what he says, we will merit the coming of the Messiah.'

The title page quotes in Hebrew the verse 'The voice of joy and salvation is in the tents of the righteous,' and then it continues as follows:

'Das is Teitsch. Stim Gesang and Hilf in Gezelt von Zadikim. Alle Fromme Leut die weren sich Mesameach sein denn es is ein grosse nuezliche Sach fur gemeine Leut and fur Weiber und is Betachlis wohl verteitscht, und das ein itlicher mag verstehn das Mahzor.'

These translations frequently refer to the statement in *Sefer Hasidim* (No. 785) 'It is better for a man to pray and to recite

the *Shema* and the blessings in a language which he understands, than to pray in Hebrew and not understand.'

Thus we see that the authors of the Judeo-German translations of the prayerbook kept constantly insisting upon the necessity for devotion, being aware of the motive that prayers must be recited with *Kavana*; and therefore they did more than merely take advantage of the permission given by Jewish law to pray in the vernacular; they constantly justified, and even urged, the use of the vernacular in prayer.

THE TEHINNOTH AND PRIVATE PRAYER

Our chief interest is in the significance of the *Tehinnoth* as prayers. We wish to know their place in the development of the liturgy. From the point of view of Jewish prayer the *Tehinnoth* present an interesting phenomenon. They comprise a large addition to the regular prayerbooks. They are intended for private devotion and provide prayers for every occasion and crisis in human life. Their very existence seems to imply an inadequacy in the regular prayer ritual. What right had the anonymous authors of the *Tehinnoth* to attempt to supplement the regular prayerbooks? Is there any justification in Jewish traditional practice for all this additional private prayer?

We may assume *a priori* that there is such a justification, for no fixed liturgy however noble and inspiring can ever fully satisfy the creative impulse of prayer. We may assume that when man ever becomes quite content with a fixed prayer ritual, that the spirit of prayer has ceased to be a living impulse within him.

When we study the history of the liturgy in Judaism we discover that there was always a deep appreciation of the need for spontaneous personal prayer. At no time in the history of the Jewish liturgy was the regular public service considered sufficient for the expression of the spiritual life. From the time of the Mishna, the Talmud and the Gaonim, there were definite places left in the regular service where private prayers were to be inserted. The worshiper was permitted to add private prayers according to his needs in the various blessings of the *Tefilla*. If he wished to pray for recovery from sickness, he

would insert his petitions in the benediction *Rofe Holim*, if he wished to pray for prosperity he would put his prayer in the *Birkath Hashanim*, etc. At a still later time the conviction became current that it would be rather improper to interrupt the regular *Tefilla* with such additions, and the approved place for spontaneous prayers became the *close* of the *Tefilla*. After the *Tefilla* was completed a man could add whatever private prayers he wished, no matter how long they were, or to use the phrase of the Talmud itself, even if his prayers are as long as the *Viddui* of Yom Kippur. (cf. *b. Aboda Zara*, 8a for the whole discussion, and cf. Elbogen, *Juedische Gottesdienst*, p. 73f).

The constant provision for the private prayers in addition to the regular fixed liturgy proves that all through the talmudic epoch spontaneous prayer was constantly practiced. There were some who perhaps added prayers only in time of some special need; others understanding the blessings of constant communion with God uttered spontaneous prayers every day. The Talmud speaks of those who are accustomed regularly to add *Tachanunim* after the *Tefilla* (*B. Ber.*, 29b). In fact it was considered a religious duty to keep the prayers from becoming mechanical. The Mishna records the statement of Rabbi Eliezer b. Horkinos (*M. Ber.* IV, 4) that if a man considers his prayers to be a fixed task, his prayers are not true supplication. The Palestinian Talmud commenting upon this statement (R. Aha in the name of R. Jose *J. Ber.*, IV, 8a) says צריך לחפש בה דבר 'It is a duty to add new or spontaneous prayers to the regular *Tefilla*.' It is important to note that in the talmudic epoch when the rabbis were concerned with all the details of the law and bent their energies to determining all the details of the liturgy and fixing the exact wordings of the regular prayers, that precisely at this time spontaneous prayer was encouraged and practiced. We are fortunate to have preserved for us in the Talmud (*B. Ber.*, 16b-17a; *J. Ber.* 7d) a number of the private prayers which famous rabbis uttered after the *Tefilla*. Even though these were private prayers of individuals, the fervor of their thought and the simplicity of their wording have earned for them in the course of time a place in the fixed liturgy. The prayer of Mar, אלהי נצור לשוני מרע still follows the *Tefilla* in all rituals; the

prayer of Rabbi Jehuda Hannasi *יהי רצון שתצילני* is found in the beginning of the daily service; the prayer of Raba *אלהי ער שלא נוצרתי* is still found in the *Viddui*.

Spontaneity in prayer can be maintained only by a conscious effort. Prayers tend to become imitative and mechanical. It is much easier to repeat than to create. The prayers of famous men tend to take the place of spontaneous prayers by each individual. Here vigilance is the price of liberty. It is interesting to observe the constant vigilance maintained by all rabbinic authorities in their effort to guard the spirit of spontaneous prayer. Thus, for example, the Gaon Rav Amram, whose prayerbook is our earliest fixed liturgy, suggests that the worshiper read after the *Tefilla* the prayers of these talmudic teachers and he also gives some prayers of his own, but he is careful to add that after the silent *Tefilla* a man may recite the *Viddui* or pray whatever else he wishes; and that after the reader's repetition of the daily *Tefilla* 'the congregation prostrates itself and asks mercy and each man utters his own petitions' (*Seder Rav Amram* ed. Warsaw, p. 9b, 12a). The *Mahzor Vitry* and *Siddur Rashi* representing the Franco-German Jews in the twelfth and thirteenth century, Maimonides representing the Sephardic Jews, and Jacob b. Asher and Joseph Caro, all refer to the custom of spontaneous prayer after the *Tefilla*.⁴

Although all these authorities record the custom of spontaneous prayer we have very few recorded examples in any of these books of actual prayers which were uttered in addition to the regular service. There is no such list of extra prayers of the rabbis of the middle ages, as the Talmud records of the Amoraim. We have only the two famous prayers of Saadiah (cf. Landshuth, *Amud Ho-Abodah*, p. 293); two prayers of Bachya ibn Pakuda (ibid, p. 49) two *Tehinnoth* given in Maimonides (in the *Nusach Hakaddish* of the *Seder Tefilloth*); we have a prayer ascribed to

⁴ Vitry, p. 19, quoting *B. Aboda Zara*, 8a; cf. also pp. 70-71 *Siddur Rashi* p. 25 No. 38; Pardes, No. 18; *Ha-Orah*, p. 10 No. 18; *Ha-Eskol*, p. 33 ('each one adds supplications according to his understanding') Maimonides in *Yad*, *Seder Tefilloth* immediately before *Nusach HaKaddish* and in *Hilhoth Tefilla*, X, 6. *Tur Orah Hayyim*, No. 119, 122, 131 and the same references in *Shulhan Aruch Orah Hayyim*; Abudraham (after the repetition of the daily *Tefillas* 'each one adds prayers according to his wish and his knowledge').

Nahmanides, and a prayer of Jonah Gerondi in his *Yesod Hate-shuva*. The spontaneous prayers for which all of them insisted rarely found literary expression, or at least have not been preserved. Bearing this in mind the Juedisch-Deutsch *Tehinnoth* assume a new importance. Here we have, beginning with the sixteenth century, many books full of prayers outside of the regular liturgy. Some of the books contain as many as one hundred additional prayers. Just what brought about this tremendous outburst of private devotion at this special time will be discussed later in the paper. But we can see at once that the *Tehinnoth* which we are discussing are part of a noble tradition. They represent that uninterrupted current of spontaneous prayer which flowed parallel to the stream of the fixed liturgy all through the history of the liturgy. They were not the writings of famous rabbis. They are as anonymous as the Psalms. Though they are humble in thought and homely in their expression, they represent the flowering of the seed of private prayer which was planted and nurtured all through the centuries.

THE STANDARDIZED TEHINNA

The very nature of the *Tehinnoth* discouraged the development of a completely fixed text. They were intended to be a guide in spontaneous private prayer and not an additional compulsory ritual. At the most they could suggest appropriate prayers, but they could not prescribe definite formulae. Being spontaneous prayer they were of necessity creative and original. All through the four centuries of the development of Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* new prayers were constantly written. The *Tehinna* published in Amsterdam in 1721 (bound with the *Seder Tefilloth*, Amsterdam, 1705) contains a number of prayers not found in the later *Tehinnoth* published in Sulzbach and Fuerth, and the latter contain a large number not found in the Amsterdam. At the end of the eighteenth century, special *Tehinna* pamphlets were published in Germany and, in the beginning of the nineteenth, a large number of pamphlets containing original *Tehinnoth* were published in Sdylkow. (cf. Pines, *Histoire de la Lit. Judeo-Allemande*). The creative impulse never quite died out in this literature.

Yet as may be expected since it is always easier to imitate than to create, there was a distinct tendency towards standardization in this literature. Prayers which became popular in one collection were embodied into later collections and additional original prayers provided. Thus there gradually evolved a large *Tehinna* book containing one hundred and one prayers. The oldest edition which I have seen of this *Tehinna* is the one published in Sulzbach. No doubt there are earlier ones. I have also seen two others exactly like Sulzbach, 1798, published in Fuerth. This book bears the title *Seder Tefilloth u-Vakoshoth*.

It is remarkable to what extent the various *Tehinnoth* have become, practically speaking, the same book. Whether the *Tehinna* is published in Germany in the eighteenth century in the older Juedisch-Deutsch, or whether it be the Germanized *Tehinna* published by Miro in Roedelheim, 1843, or the *Tehinna* published in New York in Russian and Polish Yiddish under the title *Shas Tehinna* (the title *Shas Tehinna* may possibly be derived from the original *Tehinna Shisho Sedarim* contained in these books), the contents are virtually the same. The structure of the books is similar, the occasions for which prayers are to be recited are the same and in many cases the words are identical. It frequently happens that the spelling of words or details of phraseology in a certain prayer vary according to the type of Judeo-German spoken in the locality where the books were printed, but generally the prayer is identical in all the editions where it is found. For example the *Tehinna* No. 3 in Sulzbach 1798 (and in Fuerth, 1807) reads: 'Du Bist ein Allmaechtiger und barmherziger Gott und du wiesst doch wohl dass wir eitel Blut und Fleisch sein und mir haben nit Koach dass wir konnen mechaven sein dein heilige Shemot.' The *Tehinna* entitled 'Erev vo Voker' in the *Shas Tehinna* published in New York is the same prayer in Russian and Polish Yiddish, and instead of 'du weisst doch wohl dass wir eitel Blut und Fleisch sein,' reads 'du wiesst doch wohl dass wir seinen nor Blut und Fleisch und mir hoben nit kein Koach dass mir sollen kennen mechaven sein,' etc.

In the *Tehinna* for the ninth of Ab the German *Tehinnoth* read as follows: 'Haint dem Tag haben gemistut unsere Eltern

in die Wustenei dass du sie hast ausgezogen aus Mizraim.' The Russian and Polish *Tehinna* reads: 'Haintigen Tag hoben unsere Eltern in der midbar vos du hast sei ausgezogen von Mizraim widergespenigt akegen dir.' But these variations are merely details of spelling, vocabulary and phraseology. Even some of the prayers in these Russian *Tehinnoth* which are called new are often taken from the older German books. For example the modern *Shas Tehinna* contains a prayer headed 'A Neie Jerushalaim Tehinna;' and is described as follows: 'This precious prayer was composed by a woman of great piety in Jerusalem.' As a matter of fact this so-called new *Tehinna* is found word for word in the old German *Tehinna* book. It is number 21 in the Sulzbach *Tehinna*. The modern *Shas Tehinna* contains a prayer entitled 'A neie *Tehinna* noch Licht Bentschen.' The *Tehinna* is found word for word in the Amsterdam *Tehinna* 1721.

Thus while in the newer Russian and Polish *Tehinnoth* there is considerable new material, a large number of the *Tehinnoth* are identical with those of the German books, and all the later German books are practically identical with each other. Thus it becomes clear that we are not dealing with an ephemeral literature whose contents varied completely from book to book but with a definite handbook of prayer which maintained its identity for at least three centuries. Therefore instead of speaking of Judeo-German *Tehinnoth*, it is more correct to speak of the *Judeo-German Tehinna*.

It is not to be assumed, however, that this standardization meant the abrogation of the principle of spontaneous prayer. Although the books were largely identical, the use of them was never compulsory. The prayers in them never had sufficient authority to discourage the worshiper from adding his own prayers to them. The very abundance of prayer material gave the reader a large choice, and even to those which he chose to utter he would add whatever he wished. They were manuals providing prayers for those who lacked ability to pray originally and encouraging by their example the habit of prayer in every need of life.

STRUCTURE AND GENERAL CONTENTS OF THE TEHINNOTH

In order to gain a view of the general structure of what we have called the standard *Tehinna* we will classify the various groups of prayers contained in it and cite a few examples in each class. There are, roughly speaking, three groups of prayers in the *Tehinnoth*. First, those which are intended to be inserted into the regular daily service; as the worshiper goes through the regular service he intersperses additional prayers from the book of *Tehinnoth*; secondly, special prayers for each important day of the religious year; and finally, various petitions to be said for the various needs of the life of the individual as prayers in time of sickness, prayers for prosperity and so forth.

The first group, the prayers which are to be inserted into the regular service, constitute a helpful commentary to the fixed liturgy. The *Tehinnoth* are inserted at important places in the daily service, as for example after *Ma Tovu*, or during the *Kedusha*, and emphasize the thought of the regular prayer. In order to see the fine effect that these *Tehinnoth* must have had, let us in a few instances follow the worshiper in his practice and read a few of the *Tehinnoth* in their appropriate place.

After *Ma Tovu*, the introduction to the morning prayer, the *Tehinna* supplies the following meditation:

'Who am I that I should deserve to utter my prayers before Thee, Thou awe-inspiring King of Kings praised be Thy holy name. I have provoked Thee by my sinful deeds; I am but flesh and blood and unworthy even to mention Thy great name. But God in His graciousness and endless love extends His mercy over all the world and desires to hear the prayers and petitions of his maidservant. The Lord is near to all who call upon Him in truth. Thou O Lord receivest the prayers of all creatures who call upon Thee with perfect heart.

After the martyrs' prayer in the morning service which ends with the blessing: Praised be Thou, O Lord, who sanctifiest Thy name before men, the *Tehinna* adds the following:

‘Thou art holy and Thy name is holy and the holy ones of Thy people Israel have endured and still endure all manner of death and all bitter pain in order to hallow Thy name, and in behalf of Thy holy people Israel. I ask this of Thee, Thou holy God, if it be Thy will to put me in the ordeal of danger, O sanctify me and purify me and put into my heart and upon my lips the power to hallow Thy name openly in the presence of all men as all the thousands and tens of thousands of Thy people Israel have done when they offered up their lives for Thy name’s sake. Our sages have assured us that whoever sacrifices himself with whole heart in the sanctification of God’s name will never feel the pain of martyrdom. Yet I tremble to rely upon that assurance, for perhaps the suffering will be too great for me to endure. Therefore, I beg of Thee, be Thou with me that my thoughts be ever on Thee, and that I may meet with rejoicing the griefs that will come. Put into my mouth the powers of eloquence that I may speak in honor of Thy name with wisdom and understanding. Forgive all the sins and transgressions which I have committed against Thy holy name, and place my portion with the holy ones who have cleaved to Thy holiness.

Surely this is the prayer of men and women who have frequently witnessed martyrdom and who staunchly faced the duty of sharing that sanctification.

Before the *Kedusha* the following *Tehinna* is provided. It serves as an adequate introduction to the idea that God’s holiness fills the world and that the angels in heaven and all of nature chant His praise:

Truly, O Lord, before Thee there is no night; light resteth with Thee. Thou givest light to the world with Thy radiance. The morning speaks of Thy grace and the night utters Thy truth, and all creatures speak of Thy love and Thy wonders, O Lord, who renewest Thy help every day—Thou art eternal and Thy holy servants,

the angels, live forever. Thou art pure and Thy servants are pure, and three times daily do they utter the sanctification of Thy holy name, three times daily in heaven and on earth. Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts.

For Monday and Thursday before the Torah reading the *Tehinna* provides the following prayer. It is practically a paraphrase and a development of the sentence *Adonoi, Adonoi El Rahum* which is recited at that point of the service, and it will indicate how the *Tehinnoth* provided commentary upon the theme of the various fixed prayers:

Adonoi, Thou art a merciful God who hast pity upon man before he sins, *Adonoi* and Thou art a gracious God who forgivest man after he has sinned and returns to Thee in repentance.⁵ *El* Thou art gracious to whom-ever calleth upon Thee with perfect heart. *Rahum* Thou hast pity upon man when he earnestly desireth that Thou shouldst have pity upon him, and Thou givest Thy pity through *Hesed* generosity, although he may have no merit but calleth upon Thee with perfect heart. *Hanun* Thou art gentle, hearkening to the prayer of all who come unto Thee. *Erek Apaim* Thou art slow to anger even against the wicked and dost not hasten to requite man for his evil deeds, but waitest for him to repent. *Verav Hesed* Thou showest abundant grace to those who have no merit. *Veemes* Thou art a true judge who dost punish men for his sins in this world, but dost recompense him with good reward in the world to come for the good which he has done during his life time on earth. *Nozer Hesed Loalofim* Thou dost treasure up the good which the righteous have done in this world even unto a thousand generations.

By means of these additional prayers and paraphrases, the

⁵ The thought of the first part of this paraphrase, that the significance of the repetition of the word *Adonoi* is that God is merciful before and after man sins, is found in the Talmud (*B. Rosh Hashana*, 17b).

traditional liturgy was brought into more direct contact with the lives of the worshipers.

In addition to the insertions into the daily service we have *Tehinnoth* which are suggested for the various holiday and fast services, either to be put into the synagog service or more frequently to be recited at home.

There is a special *Tehinna* to be said at home after *Sholom Aleichem* on Friday night, and one after *havdolo* on Saturday night. On Saturday night after a Juedisch-deutsch paraphrase of the 121st Psalm there follows this *Tehinna* which gives an appropriate introduction to the work of the coming week:⁹

Lord of all the world, Thou art a merciful Father and a forgiver of sin, I beseech Thee grant me good fortune at this beginning of the six days of the week which are coming toward us in joy, that we may be kept from all sin and iniquity and that we may be pure of evil; that these days may be days of the study of the law and of the doing of righteous deeds, days in which we may be graced with wisdom and understanding. Cause us to hear in these six days only tidings of joy and happiness, and let there not enter into our hearts any envy nor let others envy us. O merciful Father and King, grant that all our affairs and business and all the works of our hands be blessed and successful.

For the 17th of Tammuz, ed. Sulzbach, No. 64 has the following *Tehinna*. It follows the traditional chronology (*M. Taan.*, IV, 6) that on the seventeenth of Tammuz the two tablets of stone were broken and that during the siege of Jerusalem it was on this day that the besieged were compelled to abolish the daily sacrifice and the walls of Jerusalem were breached. The thought is the familiar one that the destruction of Jerusalem is due to the sins of our fathers and it calls upon God to rebuild the Temple.

⁹ This prayer is a translation of an older Hebrew prayer. For the sources of this prayer, cf. Baer's, *Siddur*, p. 313.

O living God, Thou art the source of my life, Thou has illumined the world with Thy light, and hast given us Thy holy Torah which is pure light, whose commandments enlighten the eyes of Thy children. The eyes of our fathers in the wilderness were still darkened, and they made the golden calf and therefore on this very day our holy teacher Moses broke the sacred tablets which were written by the finger of God. Later in the land of Israel their children again stumbled and in their great prosperity were haughty and they invoked Thine anger. Thou didst send against them their enemies who on this day broke through the walls of Jerusalem and have placed unworthy images in the house where Thy *Shekina* had dwelt, destroying its purity and taking from Israel its glory, and, instead of the sacrifices which were offered morning and evening, they slaughtered Thy children.

O Lord, my King, have mercy upon Thy children who have wandered so long in exile for because of the sins of our fathers and the sins which we commit every day among the nations. The nations put us to shame and mock us and oppress us and say 'Where is the God upon whom you have relied?

Dear God, protect us against our enemies and help us. Call not to mind the sins of our fathers and our sins. Let there come before Thee the memory of the righteous men and women who at all times have trusted in Thee, and have adopted in love all that Thou hast sent upon them. Remember the great merit and the good name which they have left behind them. Gather us from the four corners of the world so that Thy *Shekina* may rest among us. Thou hast told us through Thy prophet that the fast of the fourth month (Tammuz), (Zechariah VIII, 19), will be turned into a day of joy and happiness. May this come to pass in our time in God's name, Amen.

The *Tehinna* for the fast of Esther (Sulzbach No. 62) is rather

a prosaic historical description based upon the Midrash (*Esther Rabba*, VII, 18). In spite of its somewhat prosaic content the beginning and ending of the prayer are very well written.

Thou only God, who dwellest on high, waiting for the prayers of Thy children Israel, hearkening to the thoughts of their deepest heart, protecting them against all who seek their hurt! At this season there arose enemies to oppress and hurt Thy children. These oppressors were highly esteemed by the wicked king in whose dominion Thy children were. This king sold Thy children into the hands of those who would do to them according to their will, and they gave the order all through the world that the children of Israel be destroyed forever. Then Thy children wept and their heart sighed for Thy holy name, and they repented of all their sins. When the holy Torah heard of this, she clad herself with dirges and in mourning clasped her hands above her head and cried aloud. This weeping was heard by that holy man, Elijah the prophet, and he girded his loins and brought the bitter tidings to our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and Aaron. And that time Mordecai decreed that all the Jews, their women and children should fast for three days and cry unto Thy holy name. Thou didst hear, and have pity and didst protect them from their enemies.

Lord of all worlds, we afflict ourselves in fasting at all times because of our iniquities, O forgive them and remember them not. Deliver all Israel as once Thou didst deliver them in the days of Mordecai and Esther so that all Israel may celebrate the feast of Purim in joy and gladness.

For the whole month of Elul the book provides a stirring prayer (No. 74). Since the whole month is considered to be a time for preparation for the holy days which are coming and the *Shofar* blown every day, the *Tehinna* supplies a number of prayers to attune the mind of the people to the mood of the holy days.

Lord of all the worlds, I have come before Thee in prayer, sighing and weeping before Thy great name, to plead for forgiveness and atonement for my many grievous sins. Almighty God, art thou not merciful and gracious and King over all the world. Thou lovest him who turns away from his evil deeds and returns to Thee with sighing and with broken heart.

Woe unto me for the evil deeds which I have done! Through my bitter sins I have burdened and stained my soul which cometh from on high, and which Thou hast given me to keep beautiful as a precious jewel. Alas I have defiled it with iniquity!

What can I do? I tremble lest at any moment I will be called to judgment before the throne of glory. What will I answer then?

Lord of all worlds, have pity on me, hear the prayer which I utter with tears and with broken heart. Forgive my sins. Merciful Father, pity me as a father pitieth his children and inscribe me and my children and all Israel for life and peace in the coming year so that we may be able to hallow Thy name.

Permit me to give one more example of these seasonal *Tehinnoth*. Before *Kol Nidre* the book provides a special prayer. It is interesting to note how the *Tehinna* converts the idea of the annulment of vows to an annulment of sins. (Sulzbach No. 77b).

All the vows and all the oaths, etc., may they all be void and not be counted against me in the New Year which is coming.

Dear God, how awesome is this day! I beseech Thee, Almighty One, who art ready to grant petition and who doeth great kindness to him who calleth upon Thee, and who hears the prayer of men, Lord of all worlds, make me as clean of sins this day as a child. Annul from me and from my children all evil decrees and all bitter troubles.

This day we repent of our sins; O remember that we are but flesh and blood and it is not easy for us to subdue our evil inclinations. Dear God, I come to Thee with a broken heart and beg for forgiveness. I myself confess before Thee my sins so that the accuser will have nought to say against me. Do mercy with me and do not yet punish the iniquities which I have done till this day. Dear God, behold the tears which I shed for my sins and let me enter upon the day of judgment into Thy presence righteous. Let not the gates be closed to my prayer. Grant my petitions, and let me and my husband and my children be regarded with favor in the coming year, Amen.

All the *Tehinnoth* which are clustered around the penitential season sing the same strain. Confession and regret, tears and appeals to God's fatherly forgiveness, petitions for God's help for husband and children during the coming year.

In addition to these extra prayers for all the important days of the religious calendar, there are prayers provided for each day of the week. Each prayer is connected with the thought of creation; the first prayer, that for Sunday bases itself upon the idea of God the creator of light; the prayer for Monday will deal with the creation of the heavens upon which God sits in judgment; that of Tuesday upon which the herbs were created speaks of God creating food for all men. The following is the prayer for Friday (Sulzbach No. 44). Since this is the day of the creation of man, the prayer deals with the nature of man in his relationships with God.

Our God and God of our fathers, the Creator of the whole world at the beginning with the word of Thy holiness. Thou art alone, there is none else, and so wilt Thou be to eternity in Thy unity, and there will be none but Thee to rule this world and the world to come.

On this day, the whole thought of Thy holiness was to create man, to rule all creatures below the heavens, on earth and on the sea, and to enjoy all the works which

Thou hast created for the sake of man upon earth; so that man may at all times labor in Thy service to praise and to honor Thy holy name, to tell of Thy wonders and to point out the marvelous creations of Thy hands, how all the world is properly created in the proper measure and number, that there is nothing so small or so great that it cannot be of use to man.

Thou hast created him out of dust and hast breathed a living spirit into his nostrils. With grace and mercy hast Thou given him speech to praise Thy holy name. Such praise from man is more pleasing to Thee than the praises of all the angels in heaven, because he has permission to do either good or evil. (See *B. Hullin*, 91b, that the angels do not praise God in heaven until man has first praised God on earth; also *Hechaloth* in Jellinek's *Beth Hammidrash* III, p. 161). The prayer continues with a discussion of sin and atonement.

This is sufficient to give an impression of how the *Tehinnoth* provide additional prayers for each important day of the religious calendar, preparing the mind of the worshiper for the spirit of the day and providing for more personal devotion than the public prayer alone can offer.

But the *Tehinnoth* do not base themselves merely upon the needs of the religious year. They follow the life of the individual, and provide devotions for many important occasions and crises. The purpose of these *Tehinnoth* is to encourage the use of prayer in every time of need. There is a *Tehinna* to be read when a man has a private fast, prayers to be uttered for the welfare of the husband when he is away on a journey, prayer for prosperity in business, prayers in time of sickness, prayers to be uttered at the cemetery.

An interesting example of these personal prayers is the one (Sulzbach No. 59) which is to be said when the husband is away on a journey.

May it be Thy will, dear God, that every prayer which I utter unto Thee may be uttered in an acceptable time.

Lord of the world, prosper my husband in all his ways. Lead him, dear God, upon the right way that he may have good fortune and blessing in all his work. O deliver him upon his way from all troubles and all evil misfortunes which frequently come to man. I beg of Thee, dear God, protect my husband against false accusations that he may be guarded from terror.

Grant him knowledge and increase his understanding that he may complete his business successfully and be able to sustain his wife and his children. Guard him against envy (the evil eye) so that no harm may come to him and no disgrace and that none may say that he has defrauded any man.

Lord of the world, let my husband gain his livelihood without desecrating Thy holy name (ohn' alle Hillul Hashem).—Grant him blessing and prosperity that my children may never know poverty and never need the charity of men. Protect my husband upon his way from all pain, that he may come home in joy and in peace and in prosperity and in honor. Grant my husband grace in Thine eyes and in the eyes of men that he may retain his good name and none be able to say ought against him. Dear God, may the prayer which I utter for my husband plead in his behalf, so that he may return in health home again, Amen.

The following will serve as a closing example. It is to be said every day. (Sulzbach No. 15).

O Merciful Father, have mercy on me, forgive my sins and put into my heart the power to do righteousness and to serve Thee with all my heart. Grant me help that I may be able to give charity, to fulfil Thy commandments and to do deeds of kindness. Deliver me and all of Israel from all evil decrees and help me, Thou exalted God and Father and King over all the world, against all envy (all sorts of evil eye).—Grant me the merit of bringing pious children into the world, children

who shall be students of the Torah and righteous and pious, and be all that Thou hast described through our sages and our prophets. With Thy faithful bountiful hand grant my husband good fortune that he may sustain me and my children in honor. May my husband and I be merited to rear my children in honor without the charity and help of men, and may my husband and children all of mine be blessed with health and long life. Amen.

Such are the typical contents of a book of *Tehinnoth*. Some prayers may be found in one edition and not in another, but the type of prayer and the construction of each book is the same. All of these have prayers which are to be inserted into the regular service, thus constituting a sort of devotional commentary to the regular service, additional prayers not inserted into the service but to be said on every important day of the religious calendar and special prayers for each day of the week, thus enhancing the appeal of each holy day, and finally private prayers for each need of private life, calculated to inculcate and strengthen the habit of prayer.

THE SPIRIT OF THE TEHINNOTH

The theological background of the *Tehinnoth* is bound to be in general harmony with the spirit of Jewish theology. Since so many of the *Tehinnoth* are meant to be inserted into the daily service or to be recited on the various days of the religious calendar, they are bound to reflect the general spirit either of the daily liturgy or of the festivals. Yet although we cannot anticipate any difference in actual theological principle we may well expect to find some individuality of mood or spirit in the *Tehinnoth* due to the fact that the *Tehinnoth* are folk literature. They represent primarily neither the keen rationalism of the philosophically minded, nor the precise legal instinct of the codifiers, nor the far-flung fancy of the cabalist. They are the prayers of the people reflecting the uncritical sincerity of humble men and women. Let us examine some of the *Tehinnoth* and study their mood.

In selecting some *Tehinnoth* in which to search for the general spirit of this literature, we will avoid those prayers which are to be said on special holidays, for perhaps the spirit of the holiday will so dominate the thought of the prayer as to overshadow any possible originality. For the same reason we will avoid the prayers to be said in time of sickness or at a time of mourning, lest here too the special circumstances may give an exceptional mood to the prayers. The *Tehinna* books give us a considerable number of prayers which are to be recited every day, at no particular place in the service, at no particular hour, and in no special exigency. They are simply prayers to be recited whenever one wishes. A brief analysis of a few of these general prayers should show us just what were the favorite petitions of the worshipers in those days; what they were accustomed to ask of God; and what was the general mood of their worship.

The fifteenth *Tehinna* has the heading: *Die Tehinna soll man mit Kavvona sagen alle Tag. Av Horahamim, Merciful Father, forgive my sins, teach me to serve Thee with all my heart, deliver Israel from all evil decrees, bless me with pious children who will know Thy law and will be righteous; grant me and my children sustenance; grant me grace in Thine eyes and in the eyes of men; send the Messiah to put an end to our exile.*

The sixteenth *Tehinna* (sometimes marked the seventeenth) bears the heading: *Die schoene Tehinna soll man mispallel sein alle Tag mit Kavvona* and it contains the following petitions: *Deliver me and my children from the schemes of all who plan evil against me and transform the hearts of the evil doers into goodness (und ihre boese Herzer sollen verkehrt wer'en zu Guten); grant us support and sustenance, that we may be able to do deeds of righteousness; grant us lives of happiness and peace; purify our hearts that we may reverence Thy name and do Thy will. Grant me pious children who will know Thy law. Hallow me with Thy holiness, forgive my sins, illumine my grief, help me with Thy graciousness.*

The twenty-first *Tehinna* has the same heading as the one just quoted and prays as follows: *Have mercy upon us as a father pitieth his children; forgive our sins; grant me pious and learned*

children; may I and my husband train them to Thy service (ich soll soche sein sie to der ziehen, mit mein Mann, zu dein heiligen Dienst) grant them grace in Thine eyes and in the eyes of men. Protect us against the vengeance of enemies, grant us our needs, sustain us with Thy gracious generous hand, grant us long life, deliver us from sudden death, Thou who hearest the prayers of those who call upon Thee with all their heart.

We need merely review the contents of one more of these daily *Tehinnoth*. The thirty-sixth *Tehinna* asks the following: Before I utter my prayer to Thee, I ask forgiveness for mine iniquities. Thou understandest the broken heart, send us healing; deliver me from my troubles; grant me my needs; deliver me from the vengeance of enemies; sustain and help me to do Thy will.

These few outlines are sufficient to give the range of ideas found in the average *Tehinnoth*. I have omitted some ideas which occur only occasionally and have mentioned only those which constantly recur.

The frequent prayer for forgiveness of sin is, of course, common to all personal religion, yet the mood of these penitential prayers is distinctly Jewish. For although there is the humble consciousness of human weakness and sinfulness, we never find the pessimistic conclusion that earthly toil is vain, and that the sooner one escapes from life, the better. On the contrary we find the unshaken reliance upon the *Av Horahamim*, who waits and listens for the prayers of His children, who forgives them and grants them long life in which to fulfil His will. There is a healthy life-impulse in all of the *Tehinnoth*. They look forward to the duties of this world, to the opportunities for righteousness, to the high privilege of training children to be *Talmide Hakamim* and *Zadikim*.

The constantly repeated prayer that the children be students of God's Torah reflects the love for learning which, interestingly enough, is found in all the literature of Jewish prayer. It appears in the ancient *Tefilla* itself with its prayer addressed to the gracious Giver of Knowledge (*Ato Honen*), to which Jacob B. Asher remarks (*Orah Hayyim*, No. 115) 'If there be no understanding there can be no prayer.' The private prayers

of the rabbis in the Talmud (*B. Ber.*, 16b-17a) echo the thought: 'Open my heart to Thy Torah.' 'May our labors be in Thy Torah.' It is not surprising that ancient sages should have filled their prayers with the love for learning, but that simple people who could hardly understand Hebrew should constantly offer the same sort of petition, surely proves that the life of the masses of Israel had become definitely *Hayyim sheyesh bohem ahavas Torah*.

The hard struggle for a livelihood is reflected in the constantly recurring prayer for sustenance; and it is a fine spirit of self-reliance which prompts the frequent petition; May we never need the charity of our fellow men, but always rely upon the generous hand of God. (und gib uns unsere Parnosse und all unsere Beduerfnis von dein heilige getreue milde Hand, und nicht Cholile durch Menschen Hilf).

The persecutions and the terrors which menaced their lives left their trace in the frequent prayer to be delivered from vengeance and from hatred, and to be granted grace in the eyes of men. Yet no hatred could ever quite destroy the spirit of forgiveness, and they prayed that God convert unto righteousness the evil hearts of those who hate them. (ihre boese Herzer sollen verkehrt wer'en zu Guten).

There is a spirit of intense devotion found in all of these prayers, and it reveals itself in the constant insistence upon Kavvana, the attention of the heart to the words of the lips. In fact, the motif of Kavvana runs through all the Judeo-German devotional literature. Almost every preface of a Judeo-German translation of a prayerbook refers to it. The usual justification that these books give for a translation into the vernacular is that it will encourage understanding and therefore whole heartedness in prayer. The introduction to Joseph b. Jakar's translation of the prayerbook published in Ichenhausen, 1544 (quoted above from Gruenbaum, *Juedisch Deutsche Chrestomathie*, p. 296, 319) reads as follows:

'I consider those people to be fools who wish to pray in Hebrew when they do not understand a word of it. I would like to know how they can ever have any Kavvana

in their prayer. Therefore we have decided to print the prayerbook in the German language.'

The Juedisch-deutsch translation of the *Mahzor* (published Sulzbach, 1709) begins its introduction with the famous sentence: *Tefilla b'lo Kavvana k'guf b'lo neshama*. It develops the idea that this translation will be valuable because by it 'ein itlicher werd sein *Tefilla* mit *Kavvana* tun und werd verstehn was er sagt.'

The *Tehinnoth* constantly insist upon *Kavvana*. This can be seen from the headings given to each of the *Tehinnoth*. These headings tell when the particular prayer should be said and very frequently add the reminder that the prayer should be uttered wholeheartedly. For example the heading to *Tehinna* No. 2 in the Sulzbach reads: 'Die *Tehinna* sol man Abend und Morgan sagen b'kavvona nach Ma Tovv.' The eighth *Tehinna* has the following heading: 'Die *Tehinna* soll man sagen ganz Rosh Hodesch Elul alle Morgen früh wenn man hört Shofar blasen, befrat Rosh Hashana, mit grosse *Kavvana*.'

The heading to the seventy-first *Tehinna* is very interesting in this connection.

Women should recite this Confession weeping, but God forbid that they should say it too rapidly. It is very good for the soul. (Die Weiber sollen mit Weinen die *Viddui* sagen aber Has ve sholom nit zu gech, Is sehr gut zu der *Neshomo*.)

The heading of the fifty-fifth *Tehinna* reads:

This *Tehinna* should be said every day with great earnestness but, God forbid, not too rapidly. You may say of it as much as you wish or you may leave some of it for the next day, so that you will not be tempted to read it too rapidly. If you read it with great earnestness you will have great joy. (Mit grosse *Kavvone* werdet ihr *Hanoah* haben). (cf. *Tur Orach Hayyim*, No. 1:— 'Better is a little prayer uttered in a devotional spirit, than much prayer without devotion.')

The spirit of the *Tehinnoth* combines the sane sturdiness of Judaism, the vivid experiences and the patient courage of the worshipers and the earnestness of wholehearted Kavvana. Such a spirit is bound to express itself creatively and to find for itself such original phrasing, as is exemplified in the following quotations from the thirty-sixth *Tehinna*:

How can we stand before so great a Master as Thou art. Yet we know that Thou art a merciful Father and hast pity upon us at all times, wie ein lieber herzlicher Vater. Thou knowest our troubled hearts.

Let not my prayer return empty from Thy presence. Merciful and righteous One, we call upon Thee diligently, knowing that Thou waitest every day and every moment for the prayers of Thy people. (cf. b. Yeb. 64a 'God yearns for the prayers of the righteous').

I beseech Thee, my God and God of my fathers, may my little prayer be as pleasing in Thy sight, as if it were uttered by the great, the righteous and the pious.

THE TEHINNOTH AND THE CABALA

Perhaps the most interesting problem in a study of the *Tehinna* literature is the problem of its origin. What influence produced this sudden flood of original prayer? All through the history of Jewish liturgy private prayer has been encouraged and practiced and yet, even since talmudic times such prayers have rarely found any considerable literary expression. From all the centuries beginning with the close of the Talmud we have only a handful of private prayers preserved, and now starting with the sixteenth century a large literature of additional prayer suddenly appears; prayers for all occasions, published in countless editions. What was the new religious impulse which found such universal expression?

A partial cause may be found in the cheapening of printing. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries new printing presses sprang up in Italy, Germany and in Holland. This certainly aided in making possible the publication of large editions

of popular works. But clearly this can be only a contributing cause. No conceivable availability of material means would ever have produced such a prayer literature without some new impulse to write a devotional literature and without a new inner need for such literature.

The one new religious influence in the sixteenth century was revival of Cabala which spread from Safed in Galilee all over the Jewish world, and it is important to notice that the chief manifestation of its influence was in the ritual. By the end of the sixteenth century the whole devotional literature of Judaism was under the influence of the Cabala. The regular prayerbook whose form had remained practically unchanged for centuries now began to have a new appearance. The Cabalistic influence was not confined to any one ritual. The Sephardic and the Ashkenazic and all the other rituals were under its influence. (cf. Zunz, *Die Ritus*, p. 150).

The general basis for the Cabalistic changes in the prayerbook was probably the mystic belief that the prayer of man has a cosmic influence; that it is not the fate of man alone which is affected by his devotions, but all the universal forces of the spheres are aided or hindered in their combination and evolution by the actions and the words of man. This belief gave a sense of tremendous importance to human ritual and devotions, and a new and deeper earnestness took hold of man's prayers. Because the prayers of man might have a serious effect upon the whole fate of the universe, it was deemed vital that each prayer be uttered with the exact *kavvana*, the exact intention of the heart. Thus before every commandment which is to be fulfilled, as for example the laying on of the *Tefillin*, the recitation of morning prayers, there were added little directing paragraphs as for example:—'Behold I am now prepared to put on the *Tefillin* to fulfil the command of my Creator,' etc. And a *Yehi Rozen* was added to each commandment expressing the hope that the performance of the commandment was acceptable to God as having been properly fulfilled.

In many of these prayers there were enumerated intricate variations of the name of God affected and invoked by the fulfilment of the commandments, countless appeals of the names

of angels who have charge of the prayer in question and so forth. This fantastic concentration upon the detail of prayer really represented the popularizing and the democratizing of Cabala. Hitherto the mystic studies was confined to selected groups. The very difficulty of the literature as well as the nature of its subject matter made it esoteric and secret. But once the Cabala entered the prayerbook it became the property of the masses. For the prayerbook was the *vade mecum* of the masses. Their knowledge of Judaism came chiefly from it. Their knowledge of Hebrew and of its literature, their contact with the whole current of Judaism was through the prayerbook. Each man now could understand the mysteries, nay, it was his duty to understand the spheres and the forces of the universe and each humble worshiper by his properly directed prayer become a cosmic magician. Now since the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* begin in the sixteenth century when the Cabala first conquered the prayerbook and since the *Tehinnoth* were folk literature and the masses of the people were just discovering the Cabala, we may expect to find that the *Tehinnoth* will show a decided Cabalistic influence.

The assumption is amply sustained by a study of the *Tehinnoth*. They are decidedly Cabalistic in tone. In reading them we constantly come across the usual Cabalistic ideas, the angels, the mysteries of God's name and the Kavvanoth. An interesting example of the use of Cabalistic ideas is found in nearly all Judeo-German *Tehinna* books (No. 15 in Sulzbach 1798). It is a picture of a candelabrum whose outlines are formed by the words of Psalm 67. This Psalm has been a favorite with Cabalists. In Spain it was used during the period of Sefira because it has seven verses and forty nine words. The Cabalists said that the Psalm was engraved in the shape of a candelabrum upon King David's shield. (cf. Zunz, *Die Ritus*, p. 149). The Cabalistic prayerbook of Isaiah Horwitz has this candelabrum at the beginning of the morning service with the superscription "I have found it written that this Psalm should be said in the form of the Menorah. Concentration upon it will be of avail in many good purposes, for it contains many great mysteries. It is especially efficacious in the nights when the sefira is counted."

The *Tehinnoth* contain this Psalm in candelabrum form with the statement:

"This Psalm in the form of the Menorah should be said every day. It is a great charm against all evil." Again No. 34 in Sulzbach gives a translation of Ps. 67 and adds the following: "Whoever says the Psalms every day and concentrates upon the picture of the Menorah will find favor and wisdom in the eyes of God and men; King David carried the Psalm in the form of the Menorah upon his shield, when he went out to war."

The third *Tehinna* in the Sulzbach edition is completely cabalistic. It gives expression to the fear that the worshiper is unable to concentrate upon all the mysteries involved in the prayers. It reads as follows:

Lord of the world, Thou art a mighty and merciful God, and Thou knowest well that we are but flesh and blood and are unable to concentrate and to combine all Thy holy names in all the prayers and in all the blessings. Even though we could understand all the combinations and all the intentions of all Thy names in all the blessings we would still be unable to encompass all Thy praise. Now all the more since we cannot understand all the mysteries of all Thy holy names which appear in all the prayers and in all the blessings, therefore I beseech Thee that all my prayers, morning, afternoon and evening, should reach unto Thee as if I had understood all the mysteries of Thy holy names, that my prayer should come before Thee and be woven into a crown upon Thy head together with the prayers of Israel.⁷

It is not necessary to cite any more single *Tehinnoth*, for almost every one of them betrays distinct Cabalistic ideas and

⁷ The idea that the prayers of Israel are received by the angels and woven into a crown for God is already found in the Midrash, (*Exodus Rabba*, XXI, 4). The Talmud (*B. Hagiga*, 13b) speaks of the angel Sandalphon making crowns for God, but does not say that the crowns are made out of the prayers of Israel.

phraseology. However, one of the most interesting connections between the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* and the Cabalistic currents of thought in the sixteenth century, is found in a whole group of prayers given in every book of *Tehinnoth*, namely a group of seven prayers, one for each day of the week. Each one of these seven *Tehinnoth* is connected with the thought of the corresponding day of the week of creation. Thus the prayer for Sunday deals with light, the prayer for Monday with the stretching out of the heavens and the establishment of the heavenly throne of judgment, the prayer for Tuesday with the creation of the herbs and the fruits and it offers petitions for sustenance, and so forth. Besides the thought of the corresponding day of creation, each prayer has an additional idea. The prayer for Monday, besides speaking of the heavens and God's judgment throne, adds a petition in behalf of those who travel on the sea, and asks that they be delivered from tempests. The prayer for Wednesday, besides speaking of the creation of the luminaries, utters a petition for the health and the general welfare of children.

This group of prayers provokes a number of interesting questions. Where did the *Tehinnoth* get the idea of having a special prayer for each day of the week? Why are these prayers made to fit the corresponding day of creation? What is the source of the additional petitions, such as those for the welfare of travelers, for the health of children and so forth? The investigation of these questions will show how far back into Jewish literature even the humble *Tehinnoth* may reach, and how strong was the Cabalistic influence under which they were developed.

The Mishna (*Taanit*, IV, 2-3) reveals an interesting phase of the democratic efforts of the Pharisees to weaken the exclusive privilege of the priesthood and to increase the participation of the whole people of Israel in the sacrificial cult in the Temple. Since, as the Pharisees insisted, the sacrifices were really the offerings of the whole people of Israel, committees of laymen, *Maamodoth*, were established to be present at Jerusalem at the time of the regular offerings. The Palestinian Talmud (*Taanit*, 76d) speaks of these committees as 'representatives of Israel.' As each of the twenty-four districts of

the country was represented in turn by its committee in Jerusalem, the people of the district would read during the week that its committee was in Jerusalem, the story of creation from the first chapter of Genesis. On the first day, they would read, 'In the beginning God created' and 'Let there be a firmament,' on the second day they would read 'Let there be a firmament and 'Let the waters be gathered together' and so forth through the week.

After the Temple was destroyed and the sacrificial cult became impossible, the mind of the people sought a substitute for their participation in the cult at Jerusalem. It was not only the sacrifices themselves which they now missed, but also their own participation as laymen in the sacrificial system. This state of mind and its solution is reflected in a legend in *B. Taanith*, 27b: Abraham said 'Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it (the land of Canaan)? For what if the children of Israel will sin before Thee and Thou wilt destroy them as the generation of the flood?' Then the Lord answered, 'I will not do so. Bring me a heifer of three years old' (i.e. their sacrifices will atone for their sins). Said Abraham: 'That means of atonement is available as long as the Temple stands, but after the Temple is destroyed what will they do?' Then God answered: 'I have ordained for them the order of the sacrifice readings, whenever they recite these portions, I will credit it to them as if they had actually brought the sacrifices before me.'

This provision of reading the sacrificial sections from the Bible and the Mishna as a substitute for the sacrifices themselves is found in the Talmud as discussion of the institution of the *Maamodoth*, and the legend is headed by the words 'were it not for the *Maamodoth*, heaven and earth could not endure.' Evidently the word *Maamodoth* had begun to change its significance. At first it meant a committee and now it began to signify also a *reading of sacrifice quotations* to take the place of the actual sacrifices which these committees once witnessed.

In the seder *Rav Amram* (ed. Warsaw, pp. 16a-17b) we find a new development of the idea of *Maamodoth*.⁸

⁸ A. Marx (*Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram* in *Jahrbuch Lit. Gesellsch.*, vol. IV, p. 10) reports that in the Bodleian and in the Sulzburger Mss. of the *Seder Rav Amram* these *Maamodoth* are not

We have here seven groups of readings, one for each day of the week. These readings are headed *Seder Maamodoth* and contain sections from the Bible and the Mishna describing the sacrifices, as referred to in the talmudic legend just given, and in addition we have the daily readings from the book of Genesis which the Mishna tells were read by the old *Maamodoth* committee in the Temple.

Amram says that this *Seder Maamodoth* is not required reading for the congregation as a whole, but is a worthy custom for specially pious individuals. Perhaps it is for this reason that none of the later codes mention it. After Amram we find no mention of the *Seder Maamodoth* for many centuries (cf. again note 8). But beginning with the year 1545 in Amsterdam we have a large number of separate editions of *Seder Maamodoth* printed, occasionally with a commentary, and sometimes separately and sometimes in the regular *Siddur*. In other words, at the time of the renewed Cabalistic influence emanating chiefly from Safed in the sixteenth century, we have renewed interest in the *Maamodoth*. These readings which Amram restricted to a minhag of *Anshe Maase*, men of special piety, becomes under the influence of the Cabala a widespread custom.* But under this

found. Frumkin, however, in his edition of *Seder Rav Amram* (part I, p. 132) remarks that the *Seder Maamodoth* are copied from a Mss. in the British museum. Margoliouth in Catalog of Mss., Part II, p. 206 says of Ms. No. 613 that it was probably from it that the Warsaw edition was copied. Evidently the *Maamodoth* were found in it. Even therefore if the *Maamodoth* arrangement found in the *Seder Rav Amram* in both editions is not as old as Amram it is near to the Gaonic period. Its author may be Elijah b. Menahem of Le Mans, 11th Century (cf. *Ha-Eskol*, p. 7). However neither Vitry nor *Siddur Rashi*, nor *Shibole Haleket*, nor Maimonides, nor Jacob b. Asher nor Karo contain any mention of the *Seder Maamodoth*. *Ha-Eshkol* is the only code which refers to it.

* Moses ibn Machir of Safed (sixteenth century) in his *Seder Hayom* (p. 3b, ed. Slavita, 1865) gives a description of the midnight service as it was conducted in Safed. He says that after the recitation of dirges for the destruction of Jerusalem it was the custom to study the Torah in the following order:

First, a section from Genesis according to the order of the days of creation, then the ten commandments, then the chapter of the giving of the manna, then the sacrifice of Isaac, then some of the Hagiographa, then a selection from the Mishna and from the Gemara. Although he does not use the word *Maamodoth*, this order of study is practically the same as that given under the heading *Seder Maamodoth* in *Seder Rav Amram*. They recited this in Safed every day and added to it, according to Moses ibn Machir various prayers for sustenance, etc.

influence a new element is added. Hitherto the *Seder Maamodoth* had only the readings from Genesis and the sacrifice sections, now it contains also penitential prayers and petitions. In the *Siddur* published in Amsterdam, 1681, we find the *Seder Maamodoth* and after each day's readings there are a group of prayers taken from the Cabalistic prayerbook *Shaare Zion*.

The *Shaare Zion* (Gate 3) contains a group of prayers written for each day of the week. The author Nathan Hannover reports that they were written by Isaac Luria. These seven sets of prayers were clearly meant by Hannover, or by Luria, or by whoever the real author was to be said with the *Maamodoth*. This may be assumed because the contemporary compilers of prayerbooks who must have known the purpose of these prayers inserted them in the *Seder Maamodoth*. But that this was actually the purpose of these prayers can be proved by their contents. The prayers for each day is always connected in some way with the *Maamod* reading from Genesis for that day. The prayers for the first day will speak of God's light in our life; those for the second day when the heavens and God's Judgment throne were established speak of God's judgment; the third day when the plants and fruits were made speak of God's sustenance, etc.

But there is another proof that these prayers in the *Shaare Zion* were meant to correspond to the daily *Maamodoth*. There is a *Boraitha* in *Taanith*, 27b which gives the subject matter of various prayers which the *Anshe Maamod* would offer in the days when the Temple existed. On Monday they would pray for those that go down to the sea (*Al Yorde Hayom*) and so for Monday the *Shaare Zion* has a prayer which reads as follows: 'Deliver us and all Thy people Israel from the floods of waters, and those that go down to the sea, deliver them from the tempests of the sea.' On Tuesday the *Anshe Maamod* would pray in behalf of those who traveled through the deserts, and so the *Shaare Zion* has a prayer for Tuesday, 'Deliver all Thy people Israel who travel through the roads and through the deserts.' On Wednesday they would pray that the plague shall not fall upon the children and the *Shaare Zion* has a prayer for Wednesday which prays for exactly that, and so too there is

a prayer in *Shaare Zion* for Thursday which is made to correspond with the prayer by the *Anshe Maamod*. Thus the author of the prayers in *Shaare Zion* when he wrote his groups of prayers for each day of the week consciously had in mind the plan of the *Maamodoth*.

Thus we see three stages in the development of the *Maamodoth* prayers and readings. First, the Genesis readings carried on in the Temple by the committees of laymen, then in Amram these readings were connected with sacrifice sections upon the basis of the legend in the Talmud that the reading of sacrifice sections may take the place of the sacrifices themselves and finally, under Cabalistic influence in the 16th century, prayers were added for each day of *Maamod* reading to fit the spirit of the prayers which the *Anshe Maamod* are reported to have uttered in the Temple times.

Now these prayers were taken over into the Juedisch-Deutsch *Tehinnoth* which grew up under this Cabalistic influence. Some of the prayers were taken over bodily, some were adapted. This explains the fact that the *Tehinnoth* have a special prayer for each day of the week; that each of these prayers connects with the corresponding day of creation, and also accounts for the subject matter of the additional petitions contained in them.

Now there is a still more direct proof of the influence of Cabala upon the *Tehinnoth*. The two great sources from which Cabalistic influence came upon the prayer literature of Israel are the two Cabalistic prayerbooks, the *Shaare Zion* of Nathan Hannover, (first published in Prague 1662) and the *Shaar Ha shomayim* of Isaiah Horwitz, (first published in Amsterdam, 1717). Hannover's *Shaare Zion* is not a regular prayerbook; it is a ritual of special devotion for special occasions, for midnight prayers, for the day before New Moon, while Horwitz's *Shaar Ha shomayim* is practically a cabalistic commentary upon the regular prayerbook. The content of *Shaare Zion* proves that the Cabala in spite of its fantastic superstitions exerted in certain directions a beneficent influence upon the liturgy, and it is this influence which makes clear the relationship between the Cabala and the *Tehinnoth*.

Just because the Cabala insisted upon the mysterious influence

of the prayers of each worshiper upon the fate of the universe, the Cabala intensified the whole impulse of prayer. For how could man dare to pray mechanically when his prayer was of such vital import to all the world? Hence they added all these additional introductory paragraphs to all important prayers so that the worshiper should properly concentrate his mind upon the words that he is about to utter. Of course all these additional prayers overburdened the prayerbook, but it is only the extravagance of a fine idea. Some of the Kavvanoth were absurdly fantastic in their import, but that was only the perversion of a worthy attitude of the spirit. This is what the additional prayers positively accomplished:—they encouraged originality in prayer. They encouraged adding more to the prayerbook than the prayerbook originally contained. Almost every Cabalistic prayerbook contains additional *Tehinnoth* and if we look into *Shaare Zion* we find that it is composed almost entirely of original prayer material. Most of it is sincere in tone and dignified in expression and intense in mood. The book is composed of at least two hundred original prayers, most of them of high order. It is this originality in prayer that had the most direct influence upon the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth*. How great this influence was will become clear from a close study of the relationship between the *Shaare Zion* and the *Tehinnoth*. If we examine the *Tehinnoth* in relation to the *Shaare Zion* and the other Cabalistic prayerbook, the *Shaar Ha shomayim*, we discover that a great many *Tehinnoth* are merely translations of original Cabalistic Hebrew prayers. I have been able to trace eighteen of the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* (in the book of *Tehinnoth* of Sulzbach, 1798) which are taken over bodily either from the *Shaare Zion* or the *Shaar Ha shomayim*, ten from the former and seven from the latter and one that is found in both.¹⁰

¹⁰ The following as far as I have been able to trace is the complete list of those *Tehinnoth* in the German books found in *Shaare Zion* or *Shaar Ha shomayim*.

In *Shaare Zion* the following are found: (ref. to ed. Lublin, 1900).

Sulzbach No. 8 to be said daily in Torah reading (cf. Elbogen *Jud. Gott.* p. 200).

Sulzbach No. 9 to be said on festivals in Torah reading (cf. *ibid*).

Sulzbach No. 17 and 35 (1st paragraph) to be said with Ps. 67 p 58.

Sulzbach No. 37 Hebrew *Ono Hashem*, p. 151.

The phraseology and many of the ideas, the prayers for each of the seven days of the week, the prayers which are taken over from the Cabalistic prayerbooks, all show which was the one great tendency in Judaism under which the Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* developed. The fantastic enthusiasm, the sense of the cosmic import of human prayer, all the new mystic ideas which emanated from the school of Isaac Luria in the sixteenth century, created the influence which brought the Jewish spirit of prayer into the luxuriant flowering of the vernacular *Tehinnoth*.

The Judeo-German *Tehinnoth* invite the interest of the investigator. Three centuries of ardent creative prayer are still awaiting analysis. The actual religious ideas of the people, their superstitions and their aspirations, the intimate facts of their social history are yet to be studied. This much, however, is already clear, that deep in the consciousness of Israel, waiting for any impulse to bring it to light, is the indestructible impulse to prayer, the eternal *Avoda Shebelev*, the service of the heart.

Sulzbach No. 40 (for Monday) almost exactly like p. 80.

Sulzbach No. 43 (for Thursday) from p. 97.

Sulzbach No. 49 (for Saturday) almost like p. 106.

Sulzbach No. 58 *Yom Kippur Koton* (1st Par.) p. 81.

Sulzbach No. 67 New Moon p. 81-85-79.

Sulzbach No. 69 Fast Days p. 150.

Sulzbach No. 80 Before blessing the Lulav p. 155.

In *Shaar Ha shomayim* the following are found, (Reference is given to the edition of Amsterdam, 1722.)

Sulzbach No. 5 Inserted into daily *Tefilla* p. 110b.

Sulzbach No. 11 At home after *Sholom Aleichem*, Friday night p. 199a.

Sulzbach No. 16 The Menorah and Ps. 67 Introduction p. 8b.

Sulzbach No. 17 and No. 35 (second paragraph) p. 153a.

Sulzbach No. 25 At washing of hands based on introduction p. 7b.

Sulzbach No. 76a Confession for New Year and Atonement p. 351b.

Sulzbach No. 80 Before blessing the Lulav based on p. 305a.

Also found in *Shaare Zion*, cf. above.

Sulzbach No. 81a When beating the *Hoshanoth* p. 377a.

DISCUSSION

Rabbi Lauterbach: I shall not go into a discussion of the scientific value of the paper on Devotional Literature read by Rabbi Freehof, because it would take me as long to discuss it as it took him to read it. Suffice it to say that it is a very valuable, scholarly contribution. Though some people may disagree in certain details, in general it is pioneer work. Nothing has been done so far with this subject and the writer had to go to the obscure corners in Jewish literature to find these T^hinnoth, to look for their origin in Jewish literature. This much for the scientific value.

This is the point that I want to bring out in which the paper teaches us a very important lesson. It teaches us a lesson which we should all notice, that we are not a Jewish sect as has been said. We are not the only ones who advocate prayer in the vernacular and who manufacture prayers as we have been accused.

We have learned from this paper that there have been prayers in the vernacular all through Jewish history. Furthermore, we also have seen that these prayers by individuals were afterwards embodied in and became part of the liturgy, the same process we have been pursuing. If we write to individual rabbis asking them to compose a certain prayer for a certain occasion and then we accept this prayer and embody it in the prayer book, we are actually doing the same thing which was done in the past.

One other important lesson. We learn that although prayers can be said in the vernacular, we must also pray in Hebrew, for after all that is the language that unites us all over the world, with the idea that if a Jew comes into a house of worship he should immediately feel that he is in a Jewish house of worship. Our synagogues should be called Houses of Prayer, not only for all people, but also should be a House of Prayer for all the Jews. If a Turkish, Hungariann or Ladino Jew comes into a Jewish tem-

ple he should find enough of the traditional essentials and theological ideas and prayers to recognize that he is in His house; and we should realize that although we have our English prayers we should not slight the Hebrew. We should have a regular, fixed liturgy, with the traditional Hebrew prayers and in addition also the private devotions or prayers for those who cannot understand and who are not familiar with the Hebrew.

There is one more lesson I want to point out, because we have had some discussion about the tradition concerning women. I resent the statement which is made so often from the Reform platform, "We have emancipated women," as though women had been held in slavery up to the Reform movement which is a slander on our fathers of old and also a reflection on the mothers of old. They had never been. Women had a part in the service even if they did pray in their private homes or in the gallery. The main thing is that Orthodox Jewry did give the women a part in the religious service and life. If kosher was an essential part of the religious life it was entrusted to the women; and to repeat an old phrase of mine, "A kitchen religion is to be preferred to parlor irreligion."

Rabbi Bettan: As I was listening to the very stimulating paper of my friend, particularly to that part of the paper in which the writer sought to trace the origin of the T^hinnoth, I wondered whether we had not sufficient ground for the assertion that the origin of the T^hinnoth instead of being traced primarily to Jewish sources, as the Cabala, could not be traced rather to the environment in which the Jewish people of the time lived and the conditions under which they labored.

I should like to ask the writer of the paper whether he has given sufficient thought to the idea that the Protestant reformation as advocated and inaugurated by Luther, which took place just previous to the rise of the T^hinnah literature, did not have an immediate effect upon Jewish life, restricted and isolated as that life may have seemed to be.

The Protestant movement had two immediate effects. The first effect was that in protesting against the dominance, perhaps

the tyranny of Rome, it led directly to the democratization of religion in Europe, the extension of religion to the masses, to the common men and women; this in turn led to the translation of the Bible into German so as to make the Scripture, this holiest literature of the Christian world, accessible to the people. This constituted a radical step in Christian thought as well as in Christian conduct. Such a radical step could not have failed to exert its influence upon Jewish life. My question is whether the Protestant Reformation, in making it necessary for the Bible to be translated into German did not show our own people the need to translate their prayers equally as sacred into German or Yiddish for the common people.

Rabbi Leibert: Rabbi Freehof's paper was a splendid presentation, but it occurs to me that he left out a few important features. First, he failed to emphasize that the T^hinnoth were primarily prayers for women. Men did not use the T^hinnoth. Men were ashamed to use the vernacular and always prayed in Hebrew. Secondly, the T^hinnoth were not always meant as channels for devotion. The men were downstairs often reading from the Torah which the women did not understand and in order to prevent them from gossiping they were given something to do and they were given the T^hinnoth. Thirdly, the T^hinnoth were not private prayers. They were written by certain authors for the use of the women. Then there is the attempt to trace a T^hinnah to the Cabala. What stimulated the spread of Cabala among the Jews? The Cabala was stimulated by the adverse conditions under which the Jewish people were living. When people suffer they turn to mysticism for comfort, and whenever a people suffers, regardless of Cabala or any other influence, they want to pour out their hearts and this is the cause of the T^hinnoth and this is the cause of their spread to Russia where there was no reformation movement and where Cabala was practically unknown.

Prof. Slonimsky: It is a great pity that we have not the time to discuss the many problems that have been brought out by Dr. Freehof's very serious, very painstaking study. So far as I know it is one of the very first attempts to undertake a survey and analy-

sis of this most important branch of our literature. Dr. Freehof has succeeded in tracing to their source a certain number of these prayers which are anonymous, and I can only hope that he will continue his investigations.

The T'hinnoth, in spite of the fact that they were intended merely for women, are in my opinion one of the most important branches of modern Jewish literature, for in no other branch of literature can you get such a cross-section of what plain, Jewish men and women thought; including the men because they were written by the men—their aspirations, their desires, their ideals, and not merely the professions, and statements of philosophers. These are the most reliable sources for ascertaining Jewish ethics, true Jewish standards of life.

In the second place, I want to bring out something which is of great importance theologically. I would disagree most emphatically with my colleague, Rabbi Bettan; I do not regard the Reformation as having been a possible source for the prayers. Whatever the historic sources were, certainly the most important was the mystic mood. I dislike the use of the word "Cabala" because it has a derogatory flavor.

I want to bring out one thought. For us prayer is the expression of a desire. They really believed that prayer was physically effective, or as Dr. Freehof put it, prayer for them (and this is one of their philosophical and theological tenets) had cosmic importance and I believe Dr. Freehof used the phrase "cosmic magicians." That is slightly derogatory but it is very apt and expressive. It is based upon a theology where God is not omnipotent. All theologies are inconsistent, so is ours. We, of course, regard God as omnipotent, but there have been currents in Jewish thought all the way back, occasionally deep down and sometimes emerging to the surface as in this movement, which, if translated into modern terms, would rest upon the assumption that God is finite and requires man as a worker, not in a symbolic, not in a metaphoric, but in a literal sense. All of that is based upon the assumption that man must co-operate, that man has this actual power to work along with God. Prayer, they believed, was effective in a literal sense, hence this outburst, this out-flowing of prayer in those days.

Prof. Mann: I am sorry I must destroy the illusion of my good friend that T'hinnah literature is a creation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of course Dr. Freehof only had access to the printed T'hinnoth and he was so much impressed by what he had before him he thought it was a new literature. There are however in manuscript form hundreds and thousands of T'hinnoth written in Hebrew and Arabic going back to earlier centuries.

There was no new creation. It was only a continuation of the literary productions extending through many centuries, even going back to the Apocrypha. You will find in the Second Book of Chronicles that Menassah was taken into captivity, and he prayed to God and he was restored to his kingdom. The prayer is not mentioned. Of course, later on in the Apocrypha there are prayers to that effect. There are several prayers in the Book of Maccabees which Judith was supposed to have prayed. There are many prayers in the Apocrypha and throughout the ages there were such prayers.

If Dr. Freehof is sufficiently interested in the subject and would take the trouble to collect the material from the manuscripts he would find an enormous amount of material and all sorts of notations in all languages—Yiddish, Arabic, Persian and even in Greek of the Byzantine period. I am sorry I cannot agree with him in his other conclusion, because a good many of those prayers were composed long before the Cabala came into existence. Of course, in prayers, you will always find mystic strains and elements, because in the very essence of prayer there must be a certain mystical element.

Rabbi Stolz: It was extremely interesting to hear from Professor Mann that this T'hinnah literature had been going on throughout our whole history, but the remarkable thing is, that all at once there should have been such a large production. I wonder whether it was not a reaction against the legalism that prevailed among the Jewish people. The human heart wants to pray. There was a great longing to pray and because there had been this extreme legalism that found its culmination just about that time, this kind of literature was produced in order to give spontaneous expression to something that had been crowded down.

Why was it that just the women took up the literature that was produced by the men, perhaps also for men? Because the women did not understand the Hebrew. They could not read the Hebrew prayers. There were educated women but I think the large mass of the Jewish women were not able to understand the Hebrew. They wanted to pray and so here was something that they really could understand and therefore they took it up more than the men.

Why was it that the Jewish woman was particularly pious? Why was it that they poured their hearts out in this form of prayer? Dr. Landsberg, in a paper that he presented before the Interdenominational Congress in 1893 at the World's Fair, discussed the position of woman among the Jews, and said that the Jewish woman was not bound down by ritualistic laws as much as the Jewish man was. He had to perform certain duties and they had to be performed at specified times. The woman was not bound down, and therefore there was never crowded out of the heart and soul of the Jewish woman, the religious spirit, and when the time came that Reform opened the doors to woman, she was the most enthusiastic in accepting the opportunity and taking the prominent part in the synagogue that she does in our day.

Now we are producing a new prayer book for the sake of our women. The question is, will they want to pray even if they have the prayer book? Our mothers, our grandmothers and great-grandmothers were very happy to receive the T'hinnoth because they believed in prayer and believed in the efficacy of prayer and because they were really pious and wanted to pray. Therefore, when the T'hinnoth were presented to them, they used them. Will our women use this book as it is intended that it should be used? It was because the woman of three or four centuries ago was denied the opportunity of giving expression to her religious yearning that embraced this opportunity of using the T'hinnah. Isn't it true, perhaps, that because our women have had so little religion in the last generation that they have seized upon the Christian Science prayer book to give them something which they have not had?

Rabbi Silver: I think the break that Dr. Freehof discerned between the Talmudic period and the beginning of this literature really did not exist. Prayer continued to develop in Israel through the Middle Ages. Sometimes the prayer in the happier lands took on a more artistic expression.

The reason that was given for this increase in prayer in the sixteenth century is, to my mind, the correct one. The prayers assumed what was called a Cabalistic flavor. That is to my mind correct, but in speaking of Cabalistic tone, he might have drawn a sharp distinction between Cabala and Cabala. The earlier type of Cabala would never have given birth to a T^hinnah in the vernacular. The earlier Cabala was a speculative Cabala, or, as Rabbi Freehof said, an esoteric Cabala, which is more of a theosophy. It was the possession of a few. They followed the rabbinical dictum. The real important passages were even written in Arabic because they didn't want the angels to understand them. The Cabala that Dr. Freehof has in mind, the Cabala that found its highest expression in the Sophist school, was the practical Cabala, the Cabala not so much concerned with the microcosm and the macrocosm idea; it was a Cabala that was concerned with dreams and dream interpretations; it was a Cabala that was concerned with magic. As a result of this triumph of the practical Cabala, which came into vogue as a result of the unsettled condition of Jewry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the break in the life of the people which drove people to seek in Cabala something remediable. It was a Messianic Cabala in the true sense of the word. That is the Cabala that influenced the T^hinnoth and the prayers.

There is one thought that Rabbi Freehof did not bring out and on which I would like to have his judgment: Why at that particular time were so many of the T^hinnoth translated from the Hebrew? They are scattered all through these Cabalistic books, and later on were translated into Yiddish to enable the women to read them. Why was the need found, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to translate so many of these?

I do not know whether it is accurate or scientific, but to me it seems perhaps the only explanation. The seventeenth century saw the most tragic break in Jewish life in Europe. The seven-

teenth century witnessed the Cossack rebellions in Eastern Europe; it witnessed the twenty years' war in Germany. The social structure of Israel was almost destroyed during that century. Schools were shut down; intellectual life began to decline. What usually happens under such a condition? The center of gravity is shifted from study to prayer and to mysticism. A need is found to rebuild the morale of the people. One way which they discovered to help them rebuild the morale of the people was to bring the woman of Israel into closer contact with the synagogue, with prayer, with the education of the children, and thus were the T'hinnoth developed in large numbers in those days. There must have been a vast literature turned out at that particular time aimed to reach the women of Israel, and to my mind it was directly motivated by the thought of rebuilding the morale of the people, just as you are doing with the Sisterhood.

Rabbi Magnin: It seems to me this whole subject has a practical significance. It may be true that there are certain periods that are more mystical than others, as a reaction from certain influences and the people feel more religious than at other times, but the mass of the people are always more or less religious. One of the mistakes that our Reform movement has made is that we have stressed entirely too much the so-called intellectual at the expense of the mystical and religious. The mistake we make here is that we come here to talk technicalities. We can't even preach a sermon out of our hearts. We are afraid of simple, pure Godly thoughts. We beat around the bush to show how much we know, not how much God can speak through us. Dr. Morgenstern is building up a wonderful college and one of the things he is going to do is to establish a new standard so that the masses of the people, not the intellectual people but those who do not take themselves so seriously, who are longing for something real and vital, may be able to get real Judaism.

Rabbi Freehof: Of course, it is impossible, without a close study of the T'hinnoth to trace their origin. It seems to me the last possible movement that may have had an effect upon T'hin-

nah literature is the Reformation. It was not a prayer movement at all. Prayer in Christianity was most developed by St. Francis of Assisi, by St. Thomas a Kempis and not by the leaders of the Reformation. It was intellectual, not mystical and prayerful, primarily. If I have tried to prove anything, I have tried to prove this: that all this literature reaches its roots deep down into the soil of Judaism and that there is hardly a single element in it that doesn't come from the distant past. The very habit of praying in the vernacular does not need the encouragement of the Reformation and the Christian Church. The Septuagint is a good deal older than Martin Luther's Bible, and as for the influence of the Cabala and the sudden appearance of this literature, I know there have been prayers all through the ages, and I believe I mentioned the prayers of the rabbis, but certainly there was a sudden addition of prayer literature at this time. It was augmented in the printed books, in the literature available to all the people. There was not much original prayer literature before these T'hinnoth. There may have been plenty of manuscript, but there was a great addition at this time and I tried to explain why. When you find Cabalistic phrase after Cabalistic phrase, not a mere phrase of mystical ideas, when you find prayer after prayer taken over bodily from Cabalistic sources, when you find prayers for every day of the week constructed exactly in the way that they are found in the Cabala, there can be no doubt that the approximate cause at last was the Cabalistic movement of that time.

No one knew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that we could produce prayer literature in Israel. We are the first really prayerful people. We are, after all, the first people who thought of making prayer the primary mode of worship; the first people who taught that God can be worshiped by the heart and by the soul, and that the sacrificial cult is not necessarily the center of religious life. And so all our prayer development reaches back into our own history and we find the prayers in the language of the people. As this love for spontaneous prayer always existed, the Cabalistic movement was only the cause, at this particular time, that awakened it and brought it into life.

THE JEW IN MEXICO

Mexico, as a possible haven of refuge for the oppressed of our people, has received the attention of world Jewry. As European conditions fail to clarify and as Palestinian immigration is regulated as to numbers, it becomes self-evident that some place must be found where, at least, life is safe. Thus, in spite of adverse reports by the investigating committees of various organizations, many immigrants have found their way to the Republic to our South. I shall try to present the facts of this recent migration, but before doing so, it might be well to give an historical sketch of the Jew in Mexico. While you may be interested in the present day problem, it will not be amiss to look into the past. Here, I can give you only a hurried outline. Perhaps, at some not distant future, I may be able to give you a detailed study.

Before proceeding to this study of the past, and as a connecting link between the past and the present, it may not be amiss to say that Mexico was one of the lands investigated by the Jewish Territorial Organizations. Israel Zangwill tells us that Joseph Fels visited President Diaz in behalf of this organization, but "he was offered only a concession of Jewish immigration for the general *commercial* development of Mexico," and therefore the matter was dropped. The Hias investigated Mexico and reported, "under prevailing conditions, Mexico is not suitable as a center for Jewish immigration," (Jewish Tribune, Sept. 2, 1921). The American Jewish Congress examined Mexico as a place for colonization and reports, "it now remains our solemn and imperative duty to make it clear to all those who may be interested, that

Mexico cannot at this time become a place of refuge for those, who must, without delay, find work and opportunities of self support for themselves and their families." (The Index, Jan. 1923).

The only committee that viewed Mexico from a different viewpoint was a committee of the B'nai B'rith who reported (July, 1921), "Mexico will soon boast of loyal Jewish communities who found peace and opportunity in our neighboring Republic." To show that this optimism was not misplaced, I quote from a letter in the Yiddische Tageblatt of May 19, 1923, written by an immigrant, in which he states, "Every immigrant who desires to work can earn a living." "The present president, Obregon, is very liberal; there is no anti-Semitism here." Before turning to our historical sketch, let us fix in our minds the offer made to Joseph Fels by President Diaz "a concession of Jewish immigration for the general *commercial* development of Mexico." We shall refer to this again.

If you are anxious to obtain information about the Jew in Mexico you will find it rather difficult. If you take up your classic book of reference, the Jewish Encyclopedia, and turn to the subject, "Mexico," you will find a cross reference to South and Central America. The story of the Jew in Mexico is not worth even a separate article. If you are anxious to know the number of Jews in Mexico and turn to the year books published by the Jewish Publication Society, you will find that with continued monotony a certain number is given, though it is very difficult to understand upon what they base the assertion. The year book for 5678 (1917) has a feature article on "The Jews in Latin America," wherein some paragraphs are devoted to Mexico. It is regretted that future historians will accept these statements as facts. For instance, the claim is made that there is no "Synagog or indication of Jewish activity," and yet there was not only a Synagog but also other Jewish organizations at that time. The last year book (5683) estimates the Jewish population as 8972, but that is only an estimate and must be so considered.

Our information about the Jew in Mexico is scattered through the columns of the Jewish press, beginning, probably, with a story

published in the Hebrew Standard in November, 1892, continuing through a series of travel letters published by me in the American Israelite in 1908; a series of articles published by Victor Harris in the B'nai B'rith Messenger of Los Angeles, California, in 1907 and an article published last year in the "Modern View" of St. Louis. Within the last two years the subject has been treated in both the Jewish weeklies and in Yiddish daily press.

But before we consider the Jew in Mexico, it will pay us to consider the story of the Jew in Mexico. A few years ago we proudly proclaimed the 250th anniversary of the settling of the Jew in the United States. Press and pulpit proclaimed the fact—we felt that our history had given us the right to be counted among the early settlers of the United States. Dr. Philipson begins a tract on the Jew in America with the words: "The celebration in November, nineteen hundred and five, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Jews in this country directed public attention to the fact unknown to many, that Jews are among the oldest elements of the population of our various States."

Because a few Jews settled in New Amsterdam, coming to that city via Brazil, we feel proud, and rightly so, that our forebears were among the oldest elements of the population, and yet, one hundred and fifteen years before that event (1539), and only forty-seven years after the discovery of America, Francisco Millan and Pedro Ruiz o Hernandez de Albor were "reconciled" in Mexico for Judaism.

The Inquisition was not established in Mexico until 1571, and the first auto-da-fe was celebrated in 1574. Medina begins his volume describing the work of the Inquisition in Mexico with the statement, "There were many trials for faith in America before there was established a tribunal of the Inquisition." ("Causas de fe hubo en America desde mucho antes que en ella se fundaran las tribunales del Santo Oficio.") The bishops claimed the right to test the faith of people who were under suspicion and even after the official tribunal was established there was a period of divided authority and jealousy as to right of administration between the various functionaries of the church.

And if we give the matter a moment's thought, we will realize that the Spanish speaking countries were the ones that should have been the magnets to draw those unfortunate Jews who had been driven from Spain. The Northern lands, settled by men speaking a different language and representing a different culture, presented no enticements for those seeking a refuge, so long as they could find a refuge among others who possessed the same culture and spoke the same language. It was only after the Inquisition had fastened its tentacles on all the Spanish speaking settlements and after the harshness of the tortures equaled, if not rivaled those of Europe, that the Jew went to the new lands, where he felt his fate could not be worse, and might be better. That the Inquisition hounded the unbeliever in the new world is evidenced by the fact that the famous tribunal in Toledo averaged 35 cases a year from 1574 to 1600, while the one in Mexico averaged 34 cases a year during the same period.

I believe it is worth while to sketch some facts about this factor of Jewish life in Mexico. It is a story of heroism, that should make us proud of our faith, and it reveals, at the same time, the large number of Jews, open and secret, that settled in that land. From 1574 to 1590 not a year passed but someone was tried for Judaism. Francisco Mattos was a rabbi, teacher and dogmatizer who died before his trial and was therefore burned in effigy, together with his son who had fled. A daughter of this family was celebrated as a Hebrew scholar who could recite "the psalms of David and the prayer of Esther in Hebrew," and a brother, Luis de Carvajal, became governor of the province of Nuevo Leon, then deprived of his office, tortured during 1595 and in 1596 was burnt, together with his mother and his three sisters. Until the Jews appeared before the tribunal it had great difficulty in meeting its expenses but as Lea tells us "When the Judaizers commenced to appear among the penitents in the auto-da-fe, the longed for relief derivable from confiscation, fines and penances, was at hand. (p. 216.)

From this, it is evident that the Jew was a trader, one who carried with him fluid resources, and the more of these that were apprehended the greater was the wealth of the general office.

Perhaps the story that best illustrates this is the story of Tomas Trevino of Sobremonte (1649). His mother had been burnt at Valladolid. Nearly all his kinsmen, as well as those of his wife, were victims of the Inquisition. He had been reconciled in 1625 and when he was arrested a second time, there was no mercy shown to a relapsed apostate. He was kept in prison for five years, denying throughout that period that he was a Jew. Torture had no effect upon his strong will. But when he was notified that he had been found guilty by the Inquisition, then he openly declared himself a Jew, declaring at the same time that he would die as a Jew. In order to silence him he was taken to the quemadero gagged, yet his confession of faith and his contempt for the Christianity of his persecutors was audible to those about him. The story goes that a patient mule refused to carry this vile sinner. Six others refused to carry such a burden, and only when a broken down, blind horse, with no spirit, was found, could he ride to the place of torture. He was placed on the pyre, and when the fire was kindled, he drew the blazing brands towards him with his feet and cried out, "Pile on the wood, how much my money costs me." This last phrase gives us the key to the intense activity of the Inquisition.

Only recently I came across an incident that gives a splendid climax to this story of martyrdom. Leonar Martinez, the fourteen year old daughter of Tomas, was tried by the Inquisition, confessed that her grandmother had taught her Judaism and Jewish Prayers, and was found guilty of believing "in the law of Moses." Thus, three generations proved their allegiance to their faith.

I shall not tire you with further details about this period. We will never know how many were tortured and killed. Lists and documents have been destroyed or transported to places of safety where none but initiates may see them. But the power of the Inquisition continued until the 19th century. In 1806 at the time of the Louisiana purchase, it was necessary to delimit the boundaries. To do so two books must be consulted but these two books were on the Index, and therefore permission was refused. It was not until June 14, 1820, that the tribunal was suppressed. The building still stands and is used to-day to house the Medical School of the University of Mexico.

With such a history one need not wonder that Jews did not flock to Mexico, and even today very few go there. The most recent arrivals have come, only because they were driven from land to land in Europe and could find no home. These could take a chance, especially if that chance offered the possibility of reaching kinfolk who resided in the United States. The hand of the Inquisition still hangs heavy over Mexico and the word Jew is only whispered here and there and the Jews do not even know each other. Nevertheless there have been Jewish settlers at all times in Mexico, and I want to say a few words about these. In doing so, it will be necessary for me to refer to two trips made into that country. The first one under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1908, the other under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith in 1921.

In 1908 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations desired to ascertain the facts about the Jews in Mexico, to extend the hand of fellowship to those living there and to be helpful in the organization of Jewish endeavor. I need not go into details about my visits to some of the larger cities. Suffice it to say that there were very few Jews living in these; in none of them a traditional Minyan. But in the city of Mexico there was a large colony. Just how many, no one knows because the Jew in Mexico is not known as a Jew, he is known as a citizen of the land of his birth, he is a German, a Frenchman, an Englishman, an American, a Syrian or an Arab. They do not know each other as Jews. The problem that confronted me was the problem of finding out who was a Jew. At that time the leaders were Alsatians, with a goodly number of Germans, English and American citizens. After a week of searching for my brethren, I arranged for a meeting at the Masonic Temple. A goodly number attended. I was surprised at the number and they were surprised at the individuals who came to this meeting and publicly declared their Jewish origin. We discussed the possibilities of organizing a Jewish congregation, but their traditions were so divergent, their customs so different that it was deemed inadvisable. This seemed best since a short time before, a handful had met in the house of Prof. Rivas on Simchath Torah (October 22, 1905), and had organized a congrega-

tion, toasted each other's health and then never met again on account of the petty jealousies that had arisen. Since a congregation could not be established, I suggested the organization of a relief society, so that adequate help might be at hand for the unfortunate Jews stranded in the city. This was agreed upon and so they established the "Sociedad de Beneficencia Aliance Monte Sinai," choosing the name in honor of the congregation at El Paso which I serve. When I came back in 1921, I found the Monte Sinai still in existence, now officered and in control of Sephardic Jews, who had, in the meantime, purchased a cemetery and also a small building in which they conducted services and where a *shochet* acted as a teacher of a Hebrew day school.

At that time there was a large congregation of Sephardic or Oriental Jews. Most of these were young men, former students or graduates of the Baron de Hirsch Schools. These conducted services according to the strict Sephardic ritual in a large room at Maravillas No. 11. In 1918 they bought the building at Calle Doneceles No. 171 to which I referred above.

But I was not satisfied with this. I believed that a service should be held during the following Fall holidays. I spoke privately to a number of American and European Jews, urging such action, and they promised to arrange for the service if the U. S. A. H. C. would send a rabbi. At my suggestion Dr. G. Deutsch was sent and he conducted services for them; the first regularly ordained rabbi who conducted holiday services in the Republic of Mexico.

The ubiquity of the Jews was well illustrated by one man whom I met at that time and who again greeted me fourteen years later. Prof. Francisco Rivas is a descendant of a Marano Jew. He was born at Campechy, peninsula of Yucatan in 1850 (see the *Hebrew Standard*, Nov. 25, 1892), and is Professor of Greek in the normal school in the City of Mexico. He is probably the last surviving member of a colony of Marano Jews that lived in Yucatan up to the first half of the nineteenth century. This man speaks Hebrew, carries with him at all times a Hebrew edition of the psalms, has a wonderful library of rare books of Jewish interest, and yet knows nothing about the ceremonials of our faith. Although the Mexico of 1889 had no form of Jewish organiza-

tion, neither congregation, cemetery or relief society, still Prof. Rivas published a Jewish paper there from February to August, 1889, first under the title, "El Sabado Secreto," then "La Luz del Sabado," and finally "El Sabado." This literary curiosity is a most interesting one and copies of the same are very rare.

At the time of my visit, I wrote a series of letters for the Jewish press (*American Israelite*) describing my experiences and it may interest you to know that the *Yiddische Tageblatt* of New York published an editorial upon the same, under the heading "Die Kalte Yiddin in der Heiser Mexico."

Soon after this visit, revolution broke out in Mexico and so the story of the Jew is simply the story of suffering on the part of those who had little means and could not leave, of suspense and loss by those who had their money invested and could not draw it out and of fleeing the country on the part of those who had their savings placed in foreign lands.

In January, 1921, four men came to my office. From their appearance and speech, I recognized them as immigrants, exceptionally splendid specimens with good educations. I ascertained that they had been smuggled across the border, reaching the United States via Vera Cruz and Juarez. The Mexican ports of entry are not ports of entry for European immigrants, and so I questioned them and soon learned that they were the forerunners of a large number that were at European ports, awaiting boats for Vera Cruz. I learned further that there had been perfected a smuggling plan so that immigrants need only have sufficient funds to assure them of illegal entry into the United States. They only needed an address and an automobile number and these were sufficient identification.

The next two months proved that my surmise was correct. Many came and among them many were stranded. My friends in Mexico City were sending letters describing the pitiable condition of the immigrants, and the lack of funds, co-operation, etc., among the Jews in Mexico.

In June, 1921, Mr. A. A. Marx and I went to Mexico City as representatives of the I. O. B. B. I shall not describe the condition of the immigrants. The Jews in Mexico City had made several efforts to form organizations to meet the increasing tide of

immigration. But each organization lasted but a short time, since it was made up of the members of one national group and therefore the others refused to contribute. There was no unity in effort and we were told that the factions could not be united. The little building of the Monte Sinai was the headquarters where a few centavos were given to the most needy cases. Every immigrant desired to come to the United States to join some relative. Mexico was only a way-station until they could hear from these relatives. Some were peddling neckties and handkerchiefs and other small articles in the street; men with trades obtained employment, but due to the fact that they could not speak the language of the country, they could earn no more than the meagre wage paid the inefficient native craftsmen. I addressed two hundred of them in the room of the Monte Sinai. I tried to make clear that they should seek a home in Mexico, that they could not enter the United States until after a lapse of two years because that was the law, and secondly they could not enter because they did not have genuine passports. Theirs were forgeries made in Berlin. We promised them a school, a loan fund for those who desired to start peddling and a special hospital fund for those who might be sick.

And then we started to do what so many said was impossible, to organize the Jews of Mexico City to meet their problem, to organize them as Jews without reference to their nationality. For a week we sought representative men. We were told that certain individuals were Jews and found that they were not Jews; we were told that certain men were not Jews and found them to be Jews, anxious and ready to co-operate. We decided that the American Jews should be in control because they were the more dependable and because we might be forced to take up matters with the American Consul or the American Government, and it would be wisest to have Americans in charge of the work. We called a meeting of the representatives of various groups at the Masonic Temple and after a thorough discussion as to ways and means, they agreed to raise what we felt was sufficient for immediate needs and they elected Dr. Uhlfelder, a former New Yorker and a prominent physician, as president, and Louis Loeb, a relative of the Straus's of New York, as treasurer.

Then we faced the real problem. Whom could we get to

take charge of the work? Here we were fortunate. When I addressed the immigrants, I met a man called Prof. Boder; he left a splendid impression, and so I arranged an interview with him. Prof. Boder was a teacher in the University of Mexico. He is now professor of psychology. When the European war broke out he was an assistant in the psychological laboratory of St. Petersburg. I need not go into the reasons for his finding his way to Siberia and finally finding himself with other Jews stranded at Yokahama. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society helped him and others to reach the Western hemisphere, and since he, his wife and two children, did not have sufficient funds to pay head tax, to say nothing else, he could not enter an American port and so was taken to a Mexican port. There he did not have funds enough to pay his way to Mexico City, and so other immigrants helped him. In Mexico City he got in touch with learned circles and in the meantime the family took down with smallpox. They were taken care of by the Foreign colony, but the wife and one child died. He then entered as a student at the University of Mexico, soon knew enough Spanish to become an instructor, and is now a full professor. He was recently in the United States studying prison methods for the Mexican Government. We induced him to take charge of the work during his spare time. He did a splendid constructive work. The result is that 600 to 800 have settled in Mexico City and its environs, and these are prospering according to their native ability. They came from Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Austria and Hungary, and they will be the magnets that will draw to themselves their families and their kindred. The pressing problem today is to get Jewish maidens to join them; they feel the need of the society of the female of the species. No one can imagine the hardships they endured before reaching Mexico. They have found no anti-Semitism and I believe that they will be the founders of a conscious Jewish life in the neighboring Republic.

With this hurried sketch of work done in Mexico, let us first ask how effective was this work and secondly from what countries do these immigrants to Mexico come. The first question is best answered by referring to a letter from Assistant Secretary of Labor Henning, who states that for the three months beginning

May, 1921, fifty-three Jews were deported who had entered the United States via Mexico unlawfully; during the next three months only sixteen Jews were deported and the following three months only three Jews were deported. The second question can probably be answered by taking a cross section and studying that. I shall take as my cross section the fifteen that were arrested in El Paso between June 14, 1921, and August 23, 1921. As the immigration report states the fact, "fifteen European aliens of the Hebrew race and following nationalities were arrested—Polish, 7; Russian, 1; Latvian, 1; Lithuanian, 2; Ukranian, 2; Ruthenian, 1; Estonian, 1." We thus realize that these immigrants came from those sections where the pressure of political conditions was greatest.

The review of "Contemporaneous Jewish History" presented to our Conference last year stated "it is gratifying to hear of the offer made by President Obregon to welcome and facilitate Jewish immigration to Mexico." Before that report was presented and during the past year the Jewish press has carried many news items about colonization schemes and offers of large tracts of land by the President of the Republic for Jewish colonies. It is well to consider this phase of our question.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency made public a letter dated May 10, 1922, which said, "In reference to our conversation relative to the immigration of Russian Jews to the Republic of Mexico, I am pleased to advise you that the Government which I take the honor of presiding over would say that if the emigrants want to acquire any real estate in the Republic of Mexico, they must naturalize themselves as Mexican citizens, since our statutes establish that foreigners shall not acquire properties within a zone of 100 kilometers parallel to the borders and 50 kilometers from the seaside." "In the country there are several million hectares of land appropriated for colonization purposes, a great part of which is susceptible of adaptation for agriculture and irrigation. You may be sure that the emigrants to which I have been referring, by submitting themselves as already stated by me to what is provided by the constitution for the acquisition of property, will enjoy the guarantees, security and protection which are granted to all citizens of the Republic of Mexico."

It will be noted that this letter does not guarantee any special rights or privileges to an exclusive Jewish colonization plan. It refers to "what is provided by the constitution for the acquisition of property"; it refers to the "Reglamento Provisional para la Concesion de Franquicias a los Colonos," the regulation for privileges accorded to colonists, to all colonists and not only to Jewish colonists; it refers "to the proportion of foreigners and Mexicans to constitute a settlement is established in the contract granting the (national) land to the company," (J. M. Bejarano—*Colonization in Mexico*—The Nation, May 23, 1923).

The same news agency give an "almost literal" translation of a letter from President Obregon under date of October 31, 1922: "Having taken note of your favor of the 11th of this month, the President charges me to tell you that *there is no question of granting exclusive privileges to the Jews* with regard to colonization because such privileges have been abolished by the constitution under which we are governed; that the Government of Mexico is desirous of having colonized vast extensions of territory, appropriated for agriculture, and is willing because of that, to give all kinds of facilities to whomsoever might come to colonize them, that the Jews, if they desire to do so, may send their representatives to study the case thoroughly, so as to see whether the established conditions are convenient."

Such a letter ought to settle the question! The statement that "there is no question of granting exclusive privileges to the Jews" ought to stop all agitation. And yet "The Index" (issued by the executive committee of the American Jewish Congress) for January, 1923, states: "Recently however such a proposal for Jewish colonization and immigration has come officially from President Obregon to Mr. Joseph Barondess, who was chairman of a special committee on Mexican immigration appointed by the American Jewish Congress." It was this statement that forced Israel Zangwill to write upon "The Mexican Fiasco" and declare, "the only fact that stands out clearly is that without adequate authorization another flaming vision of hope was kindled before our suffering masses and with equal frivolity extinguished."

I have given you at length these statements because the question of colonization has been placed prominently in the Jewish

press and a hope created in the breasts of many. I could give further details; I could give you the contents of the files of the Department of Agriculture in Mexico City on this subject. To do so would simply emphasize further that all these requests were "anti-constitutional"; it would reveal the suggestion made by the government that "private lands be acquired because of the condition of national lands"; it would reveal that the American Jewish Congress telegraphed on July 1, 1922, that it "will accept an offer if officially made by President Obregon", and the answer from Ramon P. Denegri, the Secretary of Agriculture, that "the Mexican Government could not take the initiative in the matter." In other words, so far as I can ascertain no offer has ever been made to any person or organization for an exclusive Jewish colony. This statement may seem very broad; I have endeavored to ascertain not only those facts set forth in the press, but I have consulted other sources and I am forced to this deduction.

Is Mexico a land of opportunity for a large farm colony? Leon J. Pepperberg (*American Israelite*, Nov. 2, 1922), a geologist and engineer with abundant experience in Mexico says: "To my mind the establishing of a colony in this desert territory would be the same as exile," and speaking of the more favorable lowlands, he says, "I question very much whether the Jews of Europe could readily adapt themselves to the agricultural conditions of the eastern lowlands." Aside from this, many other questions must be considered. The railroads, and therefore the marketing facilities, are backward. There are very few large consuming centers in Mexico. The greater part of the table-land has not sufficient annual rainfall and it would therefore require the building of vast irrigation enterprises and for these millions of dollars would be needed. I am not a Zionist, but I would prefer that the money for such projects be spent in Palestine rather than in Mexico. There we would have "sentiment" holding our immigrants to the soil. Let us realize that there is no future for Jewish farm colonies in Mexico.

But if there is no future for Jewish farm colonies in Mexico, there is abundant future for Jewish immigrants who desire to establish themselves in trade and handicrafts. President Diaz knew his country when he offered to Joseph Fels "a concession of Jewish

immigration for the general commercial development of Mexico." Roberto Hoberman, in a syndicated article, recently said: "Mexico needs clothes, umbrellas, beds, furniture, shoes and many other things which we must at present purchase abroad. Factories and business firms producing and dealing in these commodities stand a very good chance for success in Mexico."

And it is this chance that the recent immigrants have taken. They started out, as the early German and Russian immigrants to the United States, as peddlers, and they are making good. They are sending for their dear ones, and while their original intention was to use Mexico as a station on the way to the United States, they have now decided that Mexico holds wonderful opportunities for them. Comparatively few have sought admission into the United States after their two years residence in Mexico, though each one looked forward originally to that time when he could come to the United States. The majority of them have settled in Mexico City, though there are goodly numbers scattered in various cities of the Republic. Most of them are young men, splendid physical types, for only such could stand the rigors to which they were subjected.

In Mexico City they have created a conscious Jewish life. They have formed a congregation called נדחי ישראל Nidcheh Yisroel with 50 members; there is a Y. M. H. A.; there is a Zionist organization that sent money for the Keren Hayesod to London; there is the "Alliance Monte Sinai" organized by me in 1908, which owns a cemetery, is now building a synagogue and that maintains a school for children and a shochet; one immigrant writes that the young men are sending for brides and "it is an interesting fact that there is no intermarriage."

And these young men are satisfied. They realize the opportunities that are at hand and while they are suffering hardships in readjusting their lives to a Spanish environment, it does not take them very long to learn enough of the language to be able to get about.

What is true of Mexico City is true of other cities, but to a lesser degree. In Guadalajara where there were few, if any, Jews, there are now more than thirty and they are well established.

The opportunities that these men have found are present for

a great many more. Mexico needs small tradesmen who will develop into merchants and manufacturers, and Mexico ought to be presented in this light to the European Jew who is suffering the tortures of civilization.

Jewish immigration into the United States divides itself into three distinct divisions. First, the Spanish-Portuguese from the colonial period to the first part of the nineteenth century; second, the German, who came during the middle half of the nineteenth century and soon outnumbered the earlier settlers, and third, the Russian-Polish immigration beginning with the eighties of the last century and which, before the World War, far outnumbered all previous immigrations and was assuming control of matters Jewish. Here and there a colony of Jews from the Orient had established itself thus revealing that this immigration had taken place simultaneously with the Russian-Polish but its numbers were proportionately small and therefore the fact was hardly noticed.

Jewish immigration into Mexico began with the Spanish and Portuguese who fled from persecution, who came for the right to worship and who suffered and even died for the sake of their faith. The last survivors of this immigration was probably the colony in Yucatan, where Professor Rivas was born in 1850. If the story of the Inquisition is to be accepted as a test of their loyalty to Judaism then these earliest immigrants were Princes in Israel. The rigors of the Inquisition turned the tide of immigration to the northern states and after the final suppression of the Inquisition in 1820, some Jews from Central European countries settled in the land. Their numbers were few in most of the larger cities, but in Mexico City there was always a sufficient number to create a Jewish center if there had been a will to do so. Judging from the record of this class of immigrants to the United States one had a right to expect similar organizing endeavors in Mexico. Such however was not the case. The Jew who came to Mexico did not make his religious affiliation known, did not seek the fellowship of other Jews, and left no impression upon the story of the Jew in Mexico. Now and then a service was arranged for the Holy Days and this arrangement was due to the desire of some new comers from Eastern Europe or from the Orient. The closing year of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century brought a

goodly number of Jews from the Orient to Mexico. Whether this number exceeded the number of the same class of immigrants to the United States is very doubtful, but they left their impressions upon the land because of the failure of the other immigrants. To the credit of these immigrants be it said, that they sought to establish Jewish centers wherever their numbers permitted. They spoke a Spanish jargon and so had little difficulty in learning the language and customs of the land. They were peddlers and made certain cities their headquarters and assembled in these cities, Vera Cruz, Tampico, Monterrey, Torreon, Aguascalientes, Guadalajara or Mexico City for the Holy Days and in Mexico City they had their shochet, their teacher, their shul, their relief society and their cemetery. The last immigration, that of Russian, Polish and Lithuanian Jews began in November, 1920. While it is difficult to state definitely the numbers that have come to Mexico, I believe that it is conservative to estimate that 800 to 1,000 are now scattered in various parts of Mexico. These are mostly centered in Mexico City and the problem of proper distribution, is, to my mind, the problem of today and tomorrow. If we can distribute these immigrants to various cities and prevent them crowding and creating ghettos in Mexico City, we may save them and their children much anguish of soul. These immigrants have created a conscious Jewish life; they have added to the Jewish organizations that were founded by the Syrian and Turkish Jews so that today there are in Mexico City two shuls, three shochetim and mohelim, two Hebrew teachers, a mikvah, a charity society, a cemetery and even some kosher restaurants.

There are still two questions that I want to consider—first, what are the religious conditions of the country, and secondly, what are its economic conditions?

Mexico is a Catholic country. Its cities are studded with churches and cathedrals and much money and love has been lavished upon these buildings. It is even reported that some cities have more churches than schools and the effort of the church is to maintain its organizations while it neglects the education of the children in the three R's. In the field of education there has been a decided awakening within the last few years and we can look forward to some solution of this problem that will do justice to

the natural wealth of Mexico and to the progressive spirit of its saving remnant. While Mexico may be called a Catholic country, Catholicism is not the official faith of the country. The women are devout attendants at the various church services and festivals but the men are more or less free thinkers. The Protestant churches have their missionaries throughout the country and in the larger cities have their churches with missionary preachers in charge. Where there is a sufficient number speaking a language other than Spanish, a special service is conducted in that language. The Y. M. C. A. has a large and magnificent building in Mexico City where it quietly carries on propaganda for Protestantism while offering recreational and educational facilities for the youth.

Professor Edward A. Ross, who made a special study of conditions in Mexico, writes, (*The New Republic*, May 9, 1923), "So far as the laws can insure it, religious freedom prevails in Mexico, for there is no interference with the religious rites or functions of any body of believers." "Ministers of religion may not publicly criticize the fundamental laws, the authorities in particular or the government in general. They may not vote, hold office or assemble for political purposes. Clergymen may not inherit real property occupied by a religious association or inherit from fellow clergymen or from private individuals not blood relatives. No assembly of a political character may be held in a place of public worship. No political party may bear a name indicative of relation to any religious belief. No studies carried on in a theological seminary may be created in a state university. Official permission must be obtained before opening a new Temple of worship for public use and the state legislature may determine the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds according to the needs of the locality. Marriage appertains to the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil authorities, although, of course, a religious ceremony may follow."

In spite of the separation of church and state "so far as the laws can insure it" we must not forget that the Spanish word for "Jew" is a curse word among Mexicans and here and there some difficulties may be encountered by the earliest settlers. But this difficulty will never be overcome if the Jew does not settle in various parts of Mexico and make himself known as a Jew. Only in this way can this prejudice be overcome. There is no love lost

between Catholicism and Protestantism and if the Protestant churches can send their missionaries to convert the Catholics, the Jew can, at least, go into the same environment and live his life and his faith. I do not believe that there will be any difficulty along these lines and the experience of these earliest settlers is the basis of my deduction.

What is the economic condition into which these settlers come? In the first place, let me say that there is no paper money in Mexico at the present time. Only gold and silver coins are used. There is thus stability in the money market. The laboring classes do not receive the salaries paid in the United States but the cost of living, as well as the mode of living also differs. Besides this the Mexican loves colors and will spend his earnings each week for luxuries. Thus the peddler finds a ready market. The Mexican store keeper closes his store at twelve noon and opens again at two-thirty or three. He goes home to his meal and takes a siesta. The immigrant is more ambitious and thus easily gains a foothold. The country imports a great many things that could be made from native materials and it is only awaiting the initiative and energy of immigrants such as these able to manufacture its own supplies. Just as the Jew created the needle work industry in the United States, so may these immigrants meet the needs of Mexico by initiating such enterprises.

Just a word about the social life and I will rush to my conclusion. It is only natural that the immigrants will be forced to create their own social life for the time being. But once they have become accustomed to the customs of the country and have earned enough to dress a little better than they did when they came as immigrants, then they will find little difficulty in gaining additional social life in the "Foreign Clubs". For each city in Mexico with a foreign colony has its "Foreign Club" where those from all parts of the United States and Europe assemble for social intercourse and where they meet for mutual protection. When the World War was on these clubs represented tragedies in the lives of many who had developed staunch friendships with men who suddenly were placed in the category of enemies. As a result, a great many foreign clubs became American Clubs. But the old

spirit is returning and if these immigrants desire social life, they will have no difficulty in finding it.

Our experience with farm colonies is such as to warn us against them. But this ought not to blind us to other opportunities that are present for Jewish immigration into a country like Mexico. The same amount of energy and money needed for a farm colony, would open possibilities for a livelihood for not less than ten times the number that could be placed on farms and these in turn would bring many more from the hell holes of Europe to the freedom of Mexico and its opportunities for an honest living.

"No country is in such sore need of Jews as Mexico. She needs workers, above all else, initiative, capital and tireless workers. She needs the plugging, toiling, long suffering Jewish immigrant who comes to the country to settle there and not to acquire a fortune and then 'go back to God's country.'"

I believe that we are at the very beginning of the story of the Jew in Mexico. The recent immigrants will be the founders of a new era for Jewish life and endeavor within the Republic of Mexico and when a century hence there are many flourishing Jewish communities in Mexico, these will turn with pride to the story of the martyrdom of Francisco Millan and Pedro Ruiz o Hernandez de Alvor and prove to the anti-Semites of their day, their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the Republic of Mexico.

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CONTEMPORANEOUS JEWISH HISTORY

SAMUEL S. COHON

I. A Survey of World Jewry

In Sovietland

Russian Jewry still continues to be the object of universal Jewry's solicitude. The new economic policy of the Soviets, which tolerates private initiative in commerce and in industry, has brought some relief. Jewish people are quickly returning to their interrupted activities as traders. However, in view of the general depression and the heavy burden of exorbitant taxation, business revives very slowly. While a number of merchants, notably in Moscow, have acquired great wealth through speculation, the great body of Russian Jews is still drowning in a sea of misery. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" has brought it to ruin.

Literally living in mid-air, they face problems of dependency too vast for them to solve. Driven from their old homes by pogroms, pestilence and famine, they have been vainly wandering in all directions in search of bread and shelter. Despite the Soviet ban on emigration considerable numbers have found their way into the neighboring countries and into cities of the Russian interior. Denied the golden dream of admission into our land of opportunity, some of them, in desperation, wend their way to Palestine, fully conscious of the hardships awaiting them there. The refugees from Western and from White Russia, go by way of the Ukraine to the Caucasus, finding it easier to obtain visas to leave Russia from the Georgian government than from else-

where. Being without resources, many stop for months in the Ukraine to earn enough money to carry them to the next stage of their journey. The same happens in the Caucasus and in Batoum. Unaccustomed to the climate in these regions, they succumb to malaria. An American Relief worker reports that seven hundred emigrants perished last year, in the Caucasus, from various diseases. Those that succeed in reaching Constantinople become objects of charity. Only a small percentage of them reaches Palestine.

The once prosperous Jewish centers in the Ukraine still present gruesome pictures of destitution. Tens of thousands of families have not yet succeeded in getting on their feet. Many refugees have been returning to their homes in the small towns and villages. Large numbers continue their existence in wretchedness and in squalor. Children live in freight-cars in the train-yards, in wrecked houses, in cellars and in barrels. Many of them "beg in the streets from people who can give them nothing." Those that are cared for in institutions are accounted fortunate. According to the investigations of the OZE—an association for the improvement of the health of the Jewish population in Russia—half of the children in some of the refugee camps are afflicted with tuberculosis and as many suffer from trachoma. The health of the parents is equally deplorable. Their mortality reaches nine (9) percent.

It is, therefore, encouraging to know that despite the determination of the American Relief Administration to withdraw from Russia, the Joint Distribution Committee expects to continue its work in the harrassed country. The Joint Distribution Committee has been carrying on its activities through existing local legalized agencies, notably the "Idgeskom—Iddischer Gesellschaftlicher Kommitet." This organization, when originally formed in the summer of 1920, included all non-political Jewish parties. Little by little the non-communistic elements have been crowded out, and the Idgeskom has come to be a simon-pure Bolshevik bureaucratic body, jealously guarding its monopoly on welfare work and intolerant towards all forms of Judaism. As the official agency of the government relief program among the Jews, it has been

supported, to a considerable extent, by Soviet subsidies. Most of its money, however, comes from American sources. It is unfortunate that the Joint Distribution Committee has been compelled to work through the Idgeskom, thereby exposing its truly great services to serious misunderstanding. The I. C. A. has been more successful in carrying on its reconstruction work with some degree of independence. The Joint Distribution Committee has maintained tens of thousands of children in Idgeskom institutions; has assisted in reviving hospitals and homes for the aged and in maintaining feeding stations and credit organizations. For a considerable period, it co-operated with the A. R. A. in feeding the children in the Ukraine on a non-sectarian basis. By maintaining vocational schools and facilitating the establishment of Jews as agriculturists, it aims to help them adjust themselves to their new conditions.

Not alone the economic, but also all other phases of Jewish life in Russia are in a deplorable state. True, politically they enjoy all the rights and privileges that are extended to the non-Jews. But this very equality, which has opened for them the doors to numerous governmental positions, is fraught with danger in a land where the Czarist reactionary traditions are still fresh in the minds of the masses. If it were not for the strong arm of the Soviets, pogroms would still be raging. Faced by the ever-present danger of massacres, volunteer bands of Jews have been formed—largely under the inspiration of Zionism—in many cities of the Ukraine for purposes of self-defense. These are made up of men from 18 to 50 years of age, and of a considerable number of women. Though frowned upon by the Government, and opposed by the Jewish communists, they have proved themselves effective in checking the spread of the forces of hatred and destruction.

Much has been written about the religious conditions of Russian Jewry. The dislocation of Jewish life through wars, pogroms, epidemics and the reckless experiment in communism, has led to the break up of the age old traditions and customs of the small communities—which form the backbone of Russian Jewry—and has undermined the piety and the morality of large multitudes. Jewish solidarity and loyalty have been further impaired by the

blatant antagonism of the Soviet leaders to all forms of religion. As true Marxians, they regard religion as the opiate of the masses, whereby the capitalists keep them in a state of unconsciousness. To remove this "poisonous weed" from their Bolshevik paradise has become one of their chief aspirations. Officially Soviet Russia, separating religion from the state, extends freedom to the individual to profess any form of religion or irreligion that he pleases. In reality, it has assumed an undisguised attitude of hostility to religion. The well known correspondent, Mr. George Seldes, writes: "While no rabbi or priest is allowed to give religious teachings to classes with members less than eighteen years old, the league of communist youths is permitted to preach atheism beginning with tots of cradle age. Nearly all the church trials which have aroused the world have been based on violations of laws which prohibit religion in schools or on alleged utterances or criticism or opposition to the government." The People's Commissariat for Nationalities in Moscow, in its reply (January 10, 1923) to Mr. Lucien Wolf's protest (of September 11, 1922), on behalf of the Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians of England, against the Soviet Government's interference with Jewish practices admits, by its very tone, the justice of the complaint. It excuses the Soviet policy on the ground that: "While prohibiting the teaching of the Jewish religion in the Hebrew Schools, the Soviet Government at the same time has put an end to the education of the millions of children of other faiths in the spirit of religious intolerance and anti-Semitism. . . . It removes from the school the priest, the pastor, the mullah, and the rabbi, alike." Professing love of freedom and exhibiting rabid intolerance, the champions of the new order in Russia have set out to throttle religion. This explains the execution of the Greek and Roman Catholic prelates and the trials of Rabbi Borishanski, of Hebrew teachers, synagog functionaries and Zionists. In protest against these acts of tyranny, orthodox rabbis in Europe and in America proclaimed August 23, 1922, a fast day.

Most painful is the consciousness that the fight against Judaism has been waged by Jewish henchmen. It was left to these depraved creatures to stage disgraceful trials against the Cheder,

to requisition synagogues at Charkov, Homel, Bobruisk, Minsk and other cities, and to transform them into clubs, to stage anti-religious orgies of Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur and Pesah; to champion the abolition of the Sabbath and to discredit everything that is sacred to the Jewish people.

But these persecutions have failed to kill the Jewish spirit. On the holidays, while the demonstrations against religion were staged by the communist youth, the Synagogues throughout Russia were thronged with devout worshipers. In the Ukraine, a mass movement has appeared among the peasants to embrace Judaism. By December 1922, twenty thousand of them were reported to have been converted. (See *Summary of Events of Jewish Interest*, vol. II, p. 57.) Two hundred and seventeen peasants, who embraced the Jewish faith, set out for Palestine. Rabbi Mase, of Moscow, reported at a rabbinical conference, that he, himself, had converted three hundred and sixty-seven Christians to the Jewish faith. Unofficial communal organizations have sprung up in many cities, which, though prevented from engaging in relief work, or in educational activities, supervise such matters as Kashrus, burials, ritual marriages and the care of the synagogues. Yeshivas for young people, above the age of eighteen, have been opened in Rostov and in Moscow. Chairs for studies in Yiddish, Literature and History have been established in several Russian universities. At Petrograd a popular college for Jewish studies has been conducted with gratifying results. At Moscow a group of Jewish actors has for years been conducting the Hebrew art theatre "Habimah." They have brought it to such high point of excellence as to have gained the favor of leading Russian artists and men of letters, and have thereby kept it out of reach of the hostile Jewish communists. The Hebrew teachers, especially, have shown a true heroic spirit in their struggle for the preservation of Judaism. Forced to close the Hebrew schools, they have gained entrance into the homes of the people, and have carried Jewish culture even into places that have long been estranged from all Jewish influence.

Temporarily Hebrew literature has ceased in Russia. The best literary men have been forced to seek freedom in Vienna,

Berlin, Paris, London and New York. Yiddish literature, too, though fostered by the "Yevsekzia" and taught in the Yiddish schools has been stagnant. The official Communist organ, *Emes*—characteristically written עמם mirrors the spiritual poverty of the Jewish communists. In the beginning of 1922, the co-operative Press Kadimah of Petrograd issued a twelve page Hebrew calendar, which was hailed as the messenger of a Jewish literary revival. Its facetiousness, as shown in the notice about the first of May, that "it is the festival of the International; ta'anun is not recited," alarmed the Jewish communists. Through their intervention, the government restricted Jewish publications to the Russian language, allowing only historical citations to appear in Hebrew. It further demanded that such works must deal only with dead men, excepting bibliographical references to and discussions of works by living men. In strict compliance with these regulations, the periodical, *Yevreiski Vestnik* appeared, filled up with eulogies of public men who died during the past three years of misery. These necrologies served the purpose of awakening the slumbering Jewish forces to new life. This was followed in May, 1922, by the *Yevreiskaya Misl*, a publication of high scientific order. While devoted to research of the past, it casts strong light on the present. Presenting contributions of the Jews to the thought and civilization of the world, Jewish ideals of ethics and problems of Jewish philosophy, this publication serves a great purpose. (See Dr. S. Bernstein's article in the *Hatorea* IX: No. 9, pp. 71-80. L. Fogelman's art. in *Die Zukunft*, Aug. 1922, pp. 478-480. Baal Dimyon's art. in *Die Zukunft*, Jan. 1923, pp. 30-34.)

Lithuania

While outside of Russia the Jewish faith has been free from persecution, the Jewish people have continued to be subjected to serious political and social discrimination. In Lithuania, the new constitution, recognizing the rights of minorities, provides for their autonomous administration of cultural, educational, and philanthropic affairs. It empowers them to elect "representative organs" for the administration of their affairs and to impose taxes upon their constituents for the maintenance of their educational

institutions. The constitution includes no provisions for the establishment of special ministries for the respective nationalities or for the official recognition of their languages. These were omitted ostensibly because they are sufficiently guaranteed by the declaration of the Lithuanian delegates at the Paris Conference. However, not even the most optimistic can place much hope in these provisions. Through various political manipulations, Lithuania has reduced the ministry for Jewish affairs to a mere shadow, and is fast catching up with Latvia, Esthonia and even Poland in her disregard for the rights of minority groups. It is only the fear of antagonizing enlightened public opinion in France, England and in the United States, and of alienating the good-will of the League of Nations that prevents these countries from completely renouncing the promised rights of their religious and racial minorities.

The Lithuanian nationalists are open in their violent antagonism toward the Jews. Believing all languages other than their own, dangerous to Lithuania, they have opposed Yiddish, Polish and German. Encouraged by the triumph of Fascism in Italy—where the movement appears to be free from anti-Semitism—they have been openly fighting against the so-called “alien” elements of the country. Charging the Jews with the blame for high prices and unstable currency, they advocate pogroms and terrorize the Jewish population. Excesses have occurred in the neutral zone between Lithuania and Poland.

Poland

The Polish Roswoi and other reactionary bodies, are even more violent. Under the cry: “Poland for the Poles”, they wage war against all other elements of the country. Their pride was considerably hurt when the national minority groups, in the November elections, secured eighty-two seats in the Seim and twenty-five seats in the Senate. Their humiliation at the election of Gabriel Narutowicz, the first president of their republic, by a combination of minority groups, was promptly avenged by his murder on December 16, 1922. At the trial, the murderer, Eligius Niewiadomski, who was known as an artist, historian and political writer, stated that the bullet was not intended for Narutowicz, the

man, but for the leader of the Socialist party, a party corrupted by Jews. In his deranged mind—which reflects the mental aberration of many Poles—the Jews make hatred the “basis for their propaganda; a fighting spirit, vengeance, ill-will, and enmity, animosity between the employer and employee. The class struggle was invented by them in order to destroy the Aryan nations and thus avert racial animosities and struggles.” (*The Nation*, Feb. 28, 1923). Through the Roswoi and other reactionary bodies, anti-Semitic propaganda, boycotts and excesses against Jews continue to be the order of the day. Even charges of ritual murder were renewed, (at Wengrowitz, Posen, as also at Polna in Czecho-Slovakia). A wave of pogroms swept Upper Silesia (June 17-30, 1922); in Kattowitz, the pogrom lasted three days, and was renewed several times later. Riots also occurred at Warsaw, at Lodz and at Mlava. The anti-Semitic campaign of the Polish press resulted in anti-Jewish excesses in several places in Posania. In Eastern Galicia—a province annexed by Poland, where guerilla warfare has raged between the Ukrainians and the Poles, the 700,000 Jews are threatened with great danger. They endeavored to maintain a position of neutrality. During the elections Polish Fascisti formed a military organization for the purpose of exterminating them as well as the Ukrainians. The spirit of anti-Semitism has made itself felt also at the Universities of Lemberg, Cracow, Warsaw and Posen. The students have been loud in their demands that the government restrict the admission of Jews, who number twenty-five percent of the student body, to the universities. The rejection of this demand by the Minister of Education on the ground that such action is both impractical and unconstitutional, was answered by the students with riots against Jews. At Lemberg, student members of the Roswoi terrorize the Jewish residents. So dangerous was the propaganda of the Roswoi that for a time the government felt itself compelled to close its office.

The execution of Vicar General Butchkavitch in Soviet Russia was the signal for anti-Jewish riots in Poland. The misery of the population is great, despite the energetic efforts of the various Relief Organizations. The survey made by the Joint Distribution

Committee of 565 towns in Poland showed the existence in that country of 37,778 Jewish orphans. Great distress prevails among the Jewish refugees. Eight thousand Russian Jewish refugees were expelled from Poland but were refused admission into Russia on the ground that they forfeited their citizenship through their failure to return before January 1, 1923. The expulsions have been carried on with great brutality.

Roumania

The Roumanian anti-Semites refuse to be outdistanced by the Black Hundreds of other countries. Their agitation has led to anti-Jewish outbreaks in several places, and reached their climax at Bucharest. It has taken an acute form in the universities of Jassi, Klausenburg, Bucharest, Galatz, Kishineff and Czernowitz. Professors as well as students participate in the movement. Jewish students and professors are not safe with their lives. In response to the call of the "Faszia Nationala Roumania" to all patriotic Roumanians to join in the life and death struggle against the Jews, 40,000 students are reported to have enrolled. Fighting occurred at the university of Bucharest. At Klausenburg, sixty assistant professors joined the anti-Semitic striking students, declaring that since only Jews attend the lectures, they saw no purpose in continuing to teach. A curious incident in connection with the university disorders, which appeared also in Vienna and in Poland, is the students' demand that the Jews supply the medical departments with corpses, as the other elements of the country do. The cards posted by the anti-Semitic students bear such signs as "Roumania belongs to the Roumanians" and "Jews, go to Palestine". The demands for the introduction of the *numerus clausus* are persistent. To prevent the further inflammation of the masses, the government closed, for a while, all the universities of Roumania. A significant improvement in Jewish conditions has been made through the adoption of the new constitution which recognizes the equality of all Roumanian citizens, irrespective of race, language or creed. However, the constitution has eliminated all special provisions for minority groups.

Hungary

In Hungary, too, the Awakened Magyars must have felt considerably encouraged in their terrorism by the spread of Fascism in other countries. They have been carrying on their vicious propaganda and rowdyism in spite of protests of men like Bishop Balthazar-Deszo. Under Admiral Horthy, they meet with no serious obstacles. On the occasion of Hungary's application for membership in the League of Nations, Mr. Lucien Wolf, Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee of England, addressed a letter to Count N. Banffy, minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, complaining about the insecurity of Jewish life and liberty in Hungary, which marks a departure from the provisions of the Minority Section of the Treaty of Trianon. In reply, (Dec. 14, 1922), Count N. Banffy, without denying the charges, lays the blame upon the passions that had been stirred by the misery of a disastrous war, two revolutions and foreign invasion. He states that the general elections of last June "have inaugurated a new era of political consolidation. The present government, of which the liberal views in religious and racial questions are not doubtful, has an overwhelming majority, and it is a remarkable sign for the sobriety of our national opinion, that only one of these members has been returned to the new chamber who in the last National Assembly used to attack in a violent manner the Jews and the Jewish institutions. The present government is resolved to deal with all incitements to violence and other breaches of the law with a firm hand. This is shown by the trials of persons accused of anti-Semitic crimes." Disclaiming the responsibility for the *numerous clausus* law of September 26, 1920, he interprets its purpose as beneficial to the religious and racial minorities of Hungary, and offers his assurance that in its application the Jews will not be made to suffer. (See *B'nai B'rith News*, February, 1923, p. 4).

Notwithstanding Hungary's admission to the League of Nations, her policy toward the Jews does not seem to have changed. The court decision in the case of the three men who tortured a Jew to death, condemning the principal to six weeks' imprisonment and each of his two accomplices to two weeks, shows the

cheapness in which "alien" life is held under the regime of Horthy.

The Department of Religion and Instruction recently withdrew its subvention from forty-nine so-called "Kleinschulen" of the 197 Jewish schools, on the ground that the insufficient numbers of pupils did not warrant the expenditure. Thereby the Jews of Hungary lost 25 percent of their schools. This act was in part the result of Jewish factionalism. Most of the closed schools were located in communities that were too small to have even one school, but owing to the hopeless divisions among the people, had one orthodox and one liberal school.

The sad plight of Hungarian Jewry appears to have partly roused it from its lethargy. Dr. Atkinson claims (*Jewish Mourning Journal*, May 3, 1923), that a veritable revival of Jewish religious interest is everywhere noticeable in Hungary. The Synagogues are literally crowded. Men that absented themselves for years are again among the worshippers. The conversion epidemic of former years has virtually stopped. Instead the converts are returning in large numbers to the Jewish fold. They are received back by the rabbinate with proper caution. Lecture courses were arranged for them in Budapest last winter, with striking success. Not only the men but also the women are receiving special attention. They are instructed in the practical duties of Judaism and are initiated into Jewish life. Strenuous means are also taken by the Jewish Community of Budapest to provide proper religious instruction for the young.

Austria

Only in less violent form than in Hungary, Fascism has raged also in Austria. The poverty stricken land has been literally swept by the rising tide of reaction. The soaring prices, high rents and stagnation in industry and in commerce, the triumph of socialism, the institution of the eight hour labor day and support for the unemployed have all been charged to the account of the Jewish people. Jews have been driven from health and summer resorts, and boycotts have been advocated against them. The Hakenkruezler movement—the gift of the German Republic to Austria—

has been actively engaged in campaigns of terrorism, and has made great headway in the universities. At Vienna, the higher institutions of learning had to be closed, for a while, to silence the agitation.

Prague University

In view of the widespread anti-Jewish agitation in the universities and the cry for *numerus clausus* laws, the action of the authorities of the German university of Prague appears encouraging.* Upon the election of Dr. Steinherz as rector for this scholastic year, the "German Aryan" students began a campaign against him to force him out of office. But he remained firm. The government supported him by taking the stand not to yield to the terrorizing of the student body and declared its readiness to close the University in case the uproar did not subside. Soon things quieted down. Thereupon, Dr. Steinherz voluntarily, in the interests of peace, handed in his resignation. The Board of Directors has taken no cognizance of it, stating that by the Government's confirmation of the appointment, he became a public servant, and as such he cannot resign his post, without sufficiently valid reasons, before the expiration of his term.

Germany

In Germany, since the assassination of Walter Rathenau, the government has been unusually energetic in combating reaction. Organizations like Schutz-und-Trutzbuende and Deutschnationale-Jugendbuende, which have carried on dangerous propaganda, have had to disband. Nevertheless, the fight for "Judenreinheit" goes on in German student fraternities. Students of Berlin University called their rector, the philosopher Nernst, to account for paying tribute to Rathenau. The distinguished poet, Gerhart Hauptman, whose sixtieth birthday was recently celebrated throughout Germany, has likewise been attacked for his friendly attitude to the Jewish people. "The hatred in Germany against the Jews is on

* Dr. H. S. Linfield notes: "The Prague University incident, together with the action of the deutschnational deputies in the Czecho-Slovak Parliament was what set in motion the wave of excesses in the universities of Central Europe."

the increase rather than on the decrease," writes Dr. Israel Auerbach; "The 'Haken-Kreuz,' the symbol of anti-Semitism is continuing on its victorious career, not only can it be seen on the breasts of the agitators, on the doors of Jewish merchants, on the walls of Synagogs, but recently the authorities had to remove it from a tombstone. It has for sometime even been decorating the paper money, which, however, hardly increases the value thereof." (*B'nai B'rith News*, Oct.-Nov., p. 19). Expressions of monarchists like Ludendorff, made in his memoirs and in public interviews, that the Jews "are at the bottom of all the trouble in the world today," and that the "loathesome" republican government is made up of a "lot of Bolsheviks and Jews" inflame the minds of the ignorant masses. The venomous addresses of Wulle, Reventlow and Hans Hottenrot, the criminal book by Captain Mueller von Hausens on the *Weisen von Zion* and the audacious work *Secessio Judaica* by Hans Bluecher, following the calumnious *Grosse Tauschung* by Friedrich Delitzsch—whose brilliant career in the fertile fields of Assyriology and Semitic philology ended in literary pogroms and vulgar Jew-baiting—poisoned the minds of vast multitudes. The sensational trial of the murderers of Rathenau showed that the responsibility for the tragedy rests with the entire organization known as *Rechtsparteien* of Germany. The two principal criminals expressed their belief that Rathenau was one of the "300 Weisen von Zion." One of them was of the opinion that Max Warburg, who barely escaped with his life, was also one of the "300 Weisen." The presiding judge declared. "Behind the Rathenau murder was fanatical anti-Semitism which found expression in the libelous legend about the 'Elders of Zion.' This has engendered murderous instincts in the hearts of men." The most touching episode of the murder trial was the letter of Frau Mathilde Rathenau, the murdered man's mother, to Frau Technow, mother of the self-confessed accomplice, a letter which embodies the noblest spirit of our faith: "Tell your son that in the name and spirit of the murdered I forgive him as God may forgive him provided he makes a full and frank confession before earthly justice and rues his deed at the bar of heaven. Had he known my son, the noblest of men on earth, he would sooner have

pointed his murderous weapon at himself than at my son." The sentence which was extraordinarily mild, showed that the government fears to antagonize the reactionary forces. At the trial of the men who attempted to assassinate him, Maximilian Harden showed how hard life is for an apostate: "I was born a Jew," Harden said, "but forty years ago I became a 'confirmed Christian.' This were impossible if the present anti-Semitism had prevailed then. I have never espoused any Jewish cause; on the contrary, I often passed as an anti-Semite. But my name, Isidore Witkowski, has been something I have not been able to live down." The trial itself, which was presided over by another baptized Jew, was denounced by Harden as a mockery of German justice.

In Germany, too, Fascism stimulated the native reactionary forces to new endeavors. This influence is strongly felt in Bavaria, where the National Socialist Organization, under the leadership of Adolph Hittler, carried on strong propaganda against the Jews. In Munich the propaganda led to street fights. Hittler's successor, Captain Escherich, the founder of the so-called "Orgesch"—an abbreviation of "Organization Escherich"—appears to be animated with saner views. Regarding anti-Semitism as a national danger, he looks for the co-operation of all who desire to work for the welfare of Germany. The new *Deutschvoelkische Freiheitspartei* demands that Jews be treated as aliens and be prevented from acquiring real estate either by purchase or by lease. The French occupation of the Ruhr district intensified German reactionary propaganda against the Jew. The ministry for Religion and Public Education of Saxony has revoked the rights, previously enjoyed by children of Jews and Seventh Day Adventists, to abstain from attending school on the Sabbath and holy days. The perversion of the anti-Semitic mind is strikingly illustrated by the report of the Germanized version of the Old Testament by a certain Heinrich Lhotzky. To disinfect the Germans of Jewish influence, he substituted such Hebrew names as Abraham, Rebekah and Joseph by names drawn from Teutonic mythology: Urd, Verdandi and Skult. This idiocy was hailed by the chief editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung* as a solution to the difficulties hitherto experienced by German nationalists. "Many clergymen,

after reading this book, will again have the courage to preach from Old Testament texts. All National teachers to whom the Biblical stories have hitherto been a difficulty will find in this book how to tell the Old Testament stories to Germans and make them live."

Most embarrassing, under these circumstances, is Dr. Naumann's effort to form a German Jewish National Party for the purpose of emphasizing Germanism above Judaism and of renouncing all connections with the "Ostjuden." Misery, evidently, is not always certain to lead people to reason.

The change that has come over Germany is well illustrated in the following item, reported in the *Jewish Chronicle* (June 1, 1923):

"Count Walter Puckler-Klein-Tschirne, one of the earliest of the present generation of progrom agitators in Germany, has petitioned the Government to admit him again to full rights of German citizenship. Twenty years ago the Count began to advocate progroms in Berlin, both at public meetings and by means of pamphlets. As a consequence, he was declared in 1906 to be not responsible for his actions; the rights of a German citizen were taken away from him, and he was placed under the care of trustees. He is now suing for a removal of this restriction, claiming that his actions had been certainly not more foolish than those of many prominent Germans of today. In his statement of claims he says that 'what was insane action in 1906 has become a very ordinary and normal one in 1923,' and that he has the same right as anyone else to be a 'Jew-hater.'"

The virulence of Jew hatred is combatted by the Verein Zum Abawehr des anti-Semitismus, a society of Christian scholars and politicians. In its fortnightly *Mitteilungen*, anti-Semitic literature and propaganda are subjected to scientific criticism. The brunt of the fight is borne by the "Central Verein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens," with headquarters in Berlin and branches throughout the country. Representing practically all Jewish groups and maintaining strict neutrality in politics, this organization has

been watching "over all discrimination against the Jewish people in the public schools, in the universities, in the army, over social disabilities, accommodations in hotels, in bathing places, etc., over discriminatory measures of the police, governmental officials and so on." The Central Verein maintains the Philo-Publishing House for the publishing of literature for the defence of Judaism. Its monthly *In Deutschen Reich* has been changed into a weekly under the name *Central Verein Zeitung*. It has also published a series of books on *Die Lehren des Judentums*, setting forth in popular form, the ethics of Judaism (*B'nai B'rith News*, December, 1922, p. 2).

The shattered congregational life of Germany appears to be slowly moving on the way to recovery. An important step in the direction of unifying German Jewry was taken when the "Gesamts-organisazion der preussischen Judenheit" was formed (June 25, 1922). This union—it is claimed—embraces 400,000 Jewish souls. The strictly Orthodox "Austrittsgemeinden" and the "Volkspar-teien" are not included. The joint organization aims to improve the condition of the teachers, cantors and rabbis, and to secure "the maintenance of the imperilled social and cultural institutions." Liberal Judaism is still in a deplorable condition. The Reform Congregation of Berlin was obliged to appeal to America for aid. As the target of militant Orthodoxy and Zionism, it has been obliged to apply for the right of forming a separate "Kultusgemeinde." Fifty cultural institutions have had to be subventioned for two years by the Joint Distribution Committee.

The effect of the economic depression, writes Dr. Elbogen, "is a collapse of our educational and scientific organizations. Some have discontinued their activities, others shall follow. There are no means to back them." The collapse of German Jewish scholarship is a menace of the gravest sort for all Jewry. Fortunately, new life has come to German Jewry through the settlement of Russian refugees—among whom are the chief pillars of neo-Hebraic literature, poets, journalists and men of science. Through the organization of the publishing houses: "Dwir," "Ajonoth," "Klal," "Rimon," etc., they are heroically keeping the Jewish spirit alive.

Palestine

The ratification of the Palestine Mandate by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, has removed all doubts concerning the immediate future of Palestine. Great Britain, in accepting the responsibility, undertook, on behalf of the League of Nations, to place "the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, (i. e., in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917), and the development of self-governing institutions and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion." In carrying this program into effect, the Mandatory undertook to recognize the Zionist organization as the official agency "for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country." The Mandatory is further pledged to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions," and to "encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency—close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." The acquisition of Palestine citizenship by Jews who take up permanent residence in Palestine is to be facilitated. The Mandatory assumed all responsibility in connection with the Holy Places for which it is to be held accountable solely to the League of Nations. "The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, is ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

"The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while con-

forming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired."

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality."

The Law of Antiquities proceeds by encouragement rather than by threat and ensures "equality of treatment in the matter of archeological research to the nationals of all states members of the League of Nations."

"English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and a statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic."

"The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the Holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities." (*American Jewish Year Book*, 5683, pp. 74-82).

Determined opposition to the terms of the Mandate has been offered by the Arabs. In protest, they instituted a political boycott, refusing to register as electors of members to the Legislative Council. They even absented themselves from the ceremony of promulgation (on September 11, 1922) of the royal order regarding the Mandate and of the installation of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner of Palestine. Emboldened by the victories of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and by the growth of the Pan Arabic movement, they have retained an attitude of stubborn resistance despite threats and promises. Owing to their boycott of the elections, the government has had to change its plans by reconstituting the Advisory Council, set up by the High Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary of State.

In England itself antagonism towards the Palestine Mandate made itself felt in parliament and in the country during the elections, following the resignation of Lloyd George. In the interests

of the tax-payers the Government was asked to clear out of Palestine, "bag and baggage." The seriousness of the British government's intentions to abide by the terms of the Mandate was demonstrated by the appointment of Mr. Ormsby Gore as Under-Secretary of the Colonial office. The Palestine Administration has proceeded with its plans for naturalization, a census, and other constructive measures. The census showed that the Palestinian population of 755,858, contains 83,000 Jews, of which 80,000 claim Hebrew as their national language. Due to the lack of employment, and the general economic depression, immigration to Palestine is proceeding slowly. The Hadassah has been forced to curtail its very useful work on account of shortage in funds. The schools too have been seriously handicapped because of the inability of the Keren Hayesod to give them adequate support. Several publications such as the daily *Haaretz* and the distinguished monthly *Hashiloach* have closed because of lack of funds.

The Jewish Community, while elated over the declaration of the northern section of Galilee (embracing the foothills of the Litany river) as part of Palestine, is greatly despondent over Great Britain's recognition of the independence of Trans-jordania under the rule of Emir Abdulah. It is also puzzled by the effect of the new treaty between Great Britain and King Hussein of the Hedjaz upon the future of Palestine. Sir Herbert Samuel has indeed stated that the recognition of the confederation of the Arabs of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Transjordan will not modify the present government of Palestine, and that the co-operation of Palestine with the Pan Arab Confederation will be only economic. On the other hand, the Arab press expresses its dissatisfaction with the new treaty. Under the heading, "The Only Arab State Disappears," one of the principal Arab papers—*Al Ahram*—of Cairo, states: "The Hedjaz, the only independent Arab state is bowing its head and submitting to the British Mandate. The idea of the new Arab Confederation is not to join Mesopotamia and Transjordan to the Hedjaz, so that they should together form an independent Arab state, but to join the Hedjaz to Mesopotamia and Transjordan and put the whole under the British Mandate. The only gain is that it bestows on

King Hussein the title of the 'Great King of the Arab Federation.' Was it worth while for this to revolt against the Turks?"

An event which links the past with the present is the re-opening of the pools of Solomon by Sir Herbert Samuel, providing Jerusalem with some forty million gallons of water. Significant also is the founding, on May 8, 1923, of the first British Agricultural colony in Palestine by the Order of Ancient Maccabeans on the site of the old city of Gezer, which is intimately connected with the history of the Maccabees. From a religious standpoint, the conflict between the liberals and the conservatives of Tel Abib on the question of Sabbath observance is of great importance. The High Commissioner took the position of tolerance. While expressing his sympathy with the petition signed by 4,000 Orthodox Jews, he refused to impose Sabbath observance through the arm of the State.

England

In addition to its excitement over the Palestine Mandate and sporadic manifestations of anti-Semitism, conservative English Jewry has been considerably disturbed by the growth of Liberal Jewish sentiment. A number of congregations have permitted the introduction of changes tending toward Reform. Even Chief Rabbi Herz, while shunning the name "confirmation" has recommended a "consecration" service for girls. A uniform hour for Friday evening services for the entire year has been advocated in many quarters to take the place of the varying sunset hour. The question of Liberalism has made itself felt in the establishment of the War Memorial, in the demand that the enlarged Jews' College prepare rabbis also for Reform Congregations.

The Schechita Problem

Recently the problem of Schechita has claimed the attention of the Jewish public. The county of Pomerellen, in Poland, followed the example of Switzerland, in prohibiting the Jewish method of slaughter. Of late, the question has been raised in England. There it grew out of considerations of reducing cruelty to animals to a minimum rather than from motives of anti-Semi-

tism. The Jewish side of the problem was dragged in incidentally. While scientific opinion is favorable toward Schechitah, the agitation is gathering strength.

America

Omitting from this review the Jewish life and problems in America—which will be adequately covered in other papers and reports of committees—we wish to call attention to the happy ending of the Harvard affair. The overseers of the University have redeemed the fair name of the great center of learning by unanimously resolving (on April 5, 1923)—“That in the administration of rules for admission Harvard College maintains its traditional policy of freedom from discrimination on grounds of race or religion.” This decision will, doubtless, serve to good purpose in the restoration of sanity in our land.

Since the outbreak of the World-war, America became the refuge place of many distinguished Jewish musicians, artists and scholars. Under their influence notable changes are beginning to appear in our communal life. Thus an attempt was made to organize a Kultur Liga in New York for the purpose of promoting the higher forms of Yiddish literature. The movement for the promotion of the Hebrew language has shown signs of life. The celebrations of Reuben Brainin's sixtieth birthday and of the beloved poet Bialik's jubilee, were admirably utilized as means to enlist the interests of the Jewish people in Hebrew literature. Hebrew Teachers' Colleges have existed for several years in Baltimore and in Boston. Under the auspices of the *Histadrus Ivris*, the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary *Tarbus* has been functioning in New York for the past two years. In New York, also, the Intercollegiate Menorah Association conducted, last July, the first session of its Summer School, and it announces a similar session this year. Under the auspices of the Free Synagog, the Jewish Institute of Religion was opened on October 11, 1922, for the purpose of preparing men for the Reform Jewish Ministry. It is of historical interest to note that four out of the men on the resident teaching staff are graduates of the Hebrew Union College and a fifth one

attended that institution for a number of years. During the past year, the *Beth Midrash L'torah* was opened in Chicago to prepare rabbis for Orthodox Congregations. The Chicago Jewish Normal School conducted by the Chicago Rabbinical Association in conjunction with the Federation of Synagogs completed the second year of its existence. These institutions mark the beginnings of promising spiritual achievements in the future. The acquisition of the Elkan Adler library by the Jewish Theological Seminary and of the Glaser Library by Dropsie College are events of great significance for American scholarship.

American Jewish scholarship was greatly honored through the universal expression of esteem to the Honorary President of this Conference and the President-Emeritus of the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. The utilization of the occasion, by his colleagues and pupils, for the purpose of calling for increased Jewish learning in America was a fitting tribute to one who has so devotedly and so successfully served the cause of the Torah. May the years of "*gevuroth*" bring him renewed strength for the service of God.

II. LITERARY PROGRESS

The past year was distinguished by an extraordinarily rich literary harvest. In almost all lands—excepting Russia—Jewish writers brought forth contributions of a most varied kind. *Yiddish* literature witnessed the appearance of a translation of the Bible by the talented poet Yehoash (Blumgarten), published as a serial in the New York daily *Tog*. The *Ein Yaakov* was translated by Tashrak (I. Zevin) under the title, *Alle Agodos fun Talmud* (3 vols.). Dr. J. M. Salkind published the first volume of his *Gemore in Yiddish*, covering *Berachot*, (London, 5682). In S. Z. Setzer's monthly—*Dos Wort*—of New York, the *Zohar* has been appearing in translation. A few years ago the *Dor Dor V'dorshov* was translated into Yiddish by A. Rubentchik (New York 1920). Recently Güdeman's work on Jewish life in the Middle Ages has appeared in Yiddish (Berlin 1922). Z. Reisin has edited the historical volume *Pinkos*, dealing with the conditions of Vilna

during 1914-1920. He has also announced a historical volume *Vun Elijohu Bachur bis Mendelssohn. Die Blätter far Yiddische Demographie, Statistic un Economik* has been appearing in Berlin under the editorship of Prof. Brutzkus, I. Leschzinski, and Dr. I. Segal. The volume *Bei Uns Juden* and I. Ch. Rabnitzki's *Yiddische Witzen* are important contributions to Jewish folklore. The rapid growth of Yiddish literature may be judged from the fact that during the year 1922, 358 works appeared in Yiddish, of which 258 were original productions. A bi-monthly literary review, the *Bicher Welt* is being published in Warsaw. A Yiddish music paper has made its appearance in New York. A general encyclopedia in Yiddish is appearing (in New York) under the editorship of Mr. David Goldblatt.

Hebrew literature, too, has been greatly enriched during the past year. The new quarterly *Rimon* which appears simultaneously in Yiddish under the name *Milgroim*, a publication of very high order, is devoted to Jewish art and letters (Berlin and London). The *Ein Hakore* a quarterly, devoted to criticism and Bibliography has been appearing in Berlin. The 14-15th, 16th and 17th volumes of the *Hatekufah* are rich in literary, and scientific material. The weekly *Ho'olom* has been revived in Berlin. The third volume of *Reshumoth* has been published by the Moriah Publ. Co. (Berlin 1922). The *Luah Ahiasaph* (5683) has reappeared in Warsaw (edited by Dr. I. Thon).

Especially welcome are:

Talmud Yerushalmi with all commentaries, published by the Rom Press (Vilna).

S. Rabidowitz, *Sepher Hamida* (Ajonoth, Berlin 1922).

H. Brody and M. Wiener, *Mivhar Hashiroh Ho'ivris* from the close of the Bible canon to 1492, forming one of the volumes of the *Bibliotheca Mundi* (Insel-Verlag, Leipzig.)

Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Mishle Shu'olim*. Hebrew text with German introduction. (Berlin 1921).

Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Hatophes V'ho'eden* (Berlin 1922).

A. Friedman, *Tophte Oruch*, by Moses Zacuto (Ajonoth, Berlin 5682).

A. Droyanov, *Sepher Hab'dihoh V'ha'idud* (Dwir, Berlin, 5683).

A. Kahana, *Sifrus Hahistoria Hayis'elis*, vols. 1 and 2. (Warsaw, 5683). *Sippur N'sias Dovid R'uveni* (5683).

S. Bernfeld, *Movo L'kisve Hakodish*, I (Dwir, Berlin, 5683).

I. Z. Hurwitz, *Eretz Yisroel Ush'chenoseho*, (a geographical-historical encyclopedia) vol. I, (Vienna and New York, 5683).

Asher Gulak, *J'sode, Hamishpot Ho'ivri*, 3 vols. (Dwir, Berlin 5683).

Z. Frankel, *Darke Hamishna*, newly edited by I. Nisenbaum, (Warsaw, 5683).

A. Z. Idelsohn, *N'ginos s'farde Hamizroh* (Benjamin Harz Verlag, Berlin, 1923).

A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jiphtah*, an opera (Jerusalem, 1923).

Among the important translation into Hebrew are:

S. Charna's *Hukke Hammurabi* (Julkut, Berlin, 1923).

I. N. Simhoni's *Flavius Josephus, To'ldos Milhemes Haj'hudim V'horomoim*, Vol. I (Stybel, Berlin, 5683).

A. Z. Rabinovitz's *Agodos Hatanoim* by Bacher, 2 vols. (Dwir, 5683).

Dr. Michal Berkowitz, *Kol Kisve, Theodore Herzl*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 5682).

Hasidism has continued to receive the attention of students. Among the works dealing with this subject are:

M. Eckstein: *Tno'e Hanephesh L'hasogas Hahasidus*, (Vienna, 5681).

Dr. S. A. Horodetzki, *Hahasidus V'haahasidim*, a series of biographical studies in 4 vols. (Dwir, Berlin, 5683).

Dr. S. A. Horodetzki, *Sepher Shivhe Habesht*, (Ajonos, Berlin, 5682).

Dr. S. A. Horodetzki, *Sippure Maasiyos L'rabbi Nahman Mibratzlav*. (Ajonos, Berlin, 5682).

Dr. S. A. Horodetzki, *Toras Rabbi Nahman*.

A. Kahana, *Sippure Hamaasiyos*. (Warsaw, 5682).

M. I. Guttman, *Rabbi Yisroel Besht* (Jassi, 5682).

M. I. Guttman, *Michtovim Meha-Besht*. Hitherto unpublished letters, (Lwow, 5683).

Among the books of general nature are:

S. I. Hurwitz, *Me'ayin U'on*. Essays. (Judischer Verlag, Berlin, 1922).

S. I. Hurwitz, *Sepher Toras Hovos Ha'vovos*, a digest of Bahya's work. (Juedischer Verlag, 1922).

R. Benjamin, *Al Hag'vulin*, a collection of Hebrew essays. (Vienna, 5683).

M. I. Berditchevski, *Bisde Sepher* (Literary Criticism), 3 vols. *Baderech* (Essays in political, ethical and esthetic questions), 3 vols. (Stybel, Berlin, 1922).

David Frishman, *Bamidbor* (a collection of his original stories on biblical themes). (Jalkut, Berlin, 1922).

Saul Chernichovsky, *Sippurim*, and *Mahberes Hasonitos*. (Dwir, Berlin, 1922).

Z. Shneor, *Bametzar*, (a collection of stories), *Wilna*, a poem, and *G'shorim*, a volume of poems. (Hasepher, Berlin, 1922).

S. Ben Zion, (S. A. Guttman) *Ksovim*, 2 vols. (Palestine, 1922).

L. Posternak, *Rembrandt, Y'tzirosov V'ercho Layahadus*, transl. by I. Kopelivitz with an introduction by Ch. N. Bialik. (Yivneh, Jerusalem, 5683).

I. Katzenelson, *Hanovi*, a drama in three acts. (1922).

Z. Greenwald, *Jalkut Sippurim*, a collection of stories from the Talmud and Midrash. (1923).

E. N. Frank, *Sepher Agodos Hazohar*, vol. I. (Achiasaf, Warsaw, 5683).

E. N. Frank, *Siḥos Va'agodos*. (Achiasaf, Warsaw, 5683).

E. N. Frank, *Mivḥar Agodos Haḥasidim*. (Barkoi, Warsaw, 5683).

E. Kantrowitz, *Mishle Hamagid Midubno*. (Achiasaf, Warsaw, 5683).

A. Urinovski, *Sh'urim B'toldos Hasifrus Ho'ivris Haḥadosho*. (Achiasaf, Warsaw, 5682).

Jacob Klatzkin, *Hermann Cohen* (Rimon, 5683).

The traditions of Jewish scholarship in Germany are strongly upheld, as is evident from the following partial list of publications:

Dr. A. Sulzbach, *Die Ethik des Judentums, Auszüge aus dem 'Buche der Frommen' des R. Jehuda Hachasid*. (Frankfurt A. M.)

Leo Baeck, *Das Wesen des Judentums*, 3rd edition. (Frankfurt A. M., 1923).

Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, in Berlin, (Philo Verlag, 1922).

Contents: Leo Baeck, Romantische Religion; E. Baneth, Soziale Motive in der rabbinischen Rechtspflege; Ismar Elbogen, Ein Jahrhundert Wissenschaft des Judentums; Julius Guttman, Religion und Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen und im modernen Denken; E. Torczyner, Die Bundeslage und die anfänge der Religion Israels.

David Koigen, *Der Moralischer Gott*, a study of the relation of culture to religion. (Judischer Verlag, 1922).

Dr. M. Lehman, *Sprüche der Väter*, 2nd and improved edition in 3 vols. (Frankfurt A. M., 1921-1922).

Arthur Spanier, *Die Toseftaperiode in der tannaitischen Literatur*. Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Talmudische Section. (Erster Band, Berlin, 1922).

Bernhard Wachstein, *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*. (Wien, 1922).

Dr. Joseph S. Bloch, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, in 2 vols. (Wien und Leipzig, 1922). The second volume, *Schwurgerichts prozess Kontra Pfarrer, Dr. Joseph Deckert und Paulus Meyer*, is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Gotthard Deutsch.

Dr. Joseph S. Bloch, *Israel und die Wölkernach jüdischer Lehre*. (Berlin, 1922).

S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*. (Berlin, 1922).

W. Starck und A. Leitzman, *Die jüdisch-Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen*. (Frankfurt A. M., 1923).

Joseph Meisel, *Geschichte der Juden in Polen und Russland*. Band II. (Berlin, 1922).

Dr. I. Münz, *Die jüdische Ärzte im Mittelalter*. (Frankfurt A. M., 1922).

Dr. Caesar Seligman, *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformbewegung*. (Frankfurt A. M., 1922).

Dr. Michael Traub, *Jüdische Wanderungen*. (Berlin, 1922).

Adolf Lazarus, *Paul Ehrlich*. (Wien, 1922).

Dr. M. Rosenmann, *Isak Noa Manheimer, Sein Leben und Wirken*. (Wien und Berlin, 1922).

Theodor Herzl's *Tagebücher*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1923).

Warum gingen wir zum Ersten Zionisten-Kongress? A collection of essays by leading participants in the Basle congress. (Berlin, 1922).

Gustav Krojanker, *Juden in der deutschen Literatur*. Essays on the contemporary authors: Franz Werfel, G. Hermann, A. Kerr, F. Kafka, J. Wassermann, M. Harden, O. Weininger, H. von Hoffmannsthal, M. Buber, E. Lasker-Schüler, R. Beer-Hoffman, A. Schnitzler, P. Kornfeld, A. Zweig, M. Brod, etc.

Of great historical importance is Eduard Fuchs' *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte. (München, 1921).

In striking contrast with the rich literary harvest in Yiddish, Hebrew and German, English works on Judaism were very few during the past year. Among them are:

I. Abrahams, *Companion to the Authorized Daily Prayer-Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*. Historical and explanatory notes, and additional matter, compiled in accordance with the plans of the Rev. S. Singer. Revised Edition (1922).

Ben Ami, *Aspects of Jewish Life and Thought*. (London, 1922).

Herman Gollancz, *A new and critical version of Rhymes on Moral Instruction*, attributed to Rabbi Hai ben Sherira Gaon, based on three manuscripts in the British Museum. (1922).

A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish Piety*. (Oxford University Press, 1923).

H. Wiener, *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism*. (London, 1923).

M. Vishnitzer, *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow* (1723-1805) translated from the original Hebrew manuscript with an introduction, notes, and map. (Oxford University Press, 1922).

S. A. Hirsch, *The Cabbalists and other Essays*. Contents: the Cabbalists, Prolegomena to a Philosophy of the Jewish Religion; A Universal Religion; Possibility or Impossibility of a Direct Divine Revelation; The Mishnah, Rashi as an Exegete; Public Disputations in Spain; and Pfefferkorniana. (London, 1922).

Salomon Reinach, *A Short History of Christianity*, translated from the French by Florence Simmonds. (London, 1922).

A. Irma Cohon, *An Introduction to Jewish Music*. (Council of Jewish Women, Chicago, 1923).

A. F. Landesman, *A Curriculum for Jewish Schools*. (New York, 1922).

Louis Grossman, *Glimpses into Life*, short sermons. (New York, 1922).

Herbert S. Goldstein, *Ethics of the Fathers in English and Hebrew*, with comments. (New York, 1923).

J. Max Weis, *Great Men in Israel*, historical sketches. (New York, 1922).

Oscar Strauss, *Under Four Administrations: From Cleveland to Taft*. Recollections. (Boston, 1922).

H. Morgenthau, *All in a Life-Time*. Reminiscences. (New York, 1922).

Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, a contribution to their political and communal history, based chiefly on Genizah material hitherto unpublished. Vol. II supplying the texts which form the basis of the first volume. (Oxford University Press, 1922).

Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, *Heaven and Hell in Comparative Religion*, with special reference to Dante's "Divine Comedy." (New York, 1923).

III. OBITUARY

Since our last Conference, the Jewish people have lost a number of men of light and leading. The following claim our special attention:

SAUL ISRAEL HURWITZ. A striking personality was removed from the world of Jewish scholarship through the death of Saul Israel Hurwitz, at Berlin, on August 9, 1922, at the age of sixty-two. He was born at Uvarovitz, near Homel, where he received his early training and acquired the reputation of being an *illuy*. At the age of seventeen, he went to Mstislav to study Talmud under the direction of his grandfather, Benzion Dubnov. There, too, he acquainted himself with the liberal currents of Jewish life. In 1881 he contributed his first essay to the Russian

Jewish Monthly, Razsviet, and issued it a year later as a separate work in Hebrew, entitled: *Inyan Kiddushim V'gittim al pi Hukke Hatorah V'hatalmud*. During the years 1883-4, he published in the Hamelitz, a number of essays against Mendelsohnian influence in Jewish life. After a business career in the interior of Russia, he removed to Berlin and resumed his literary work. There he edited the *Heathid*, a periodical devoted to the investigation of Judaism in its various manifestations, (Vol. I-V). A rationalist by nature, he fought Ḥasidism and all forms of obscurantism in literature and in religion, and pleaded for the extension boundaries of Judaism—*Harḥovas Hagevulin*. Steeped in the thought of the mediaeval Jewish philosophers, he leaned now upon the spiritual nationalism of Halevi and now upon the rationalism of Maimonides, and finally upon the enlightened mysticism of Bahjah.

DAVID FRISHMAN. The death of David Frishman at Berlin, on August 14, 1922, at the age of fifty-seven (according to some writers, at sixty-two) has robbed new Hebrew literature of one of its chief moulders. The sixteen volumes of his collected works that appeared in 1914 speak only in small part of his inestimable services to Hebrew literature. He began his career by shattering the idols of the Haskalah period, and by unfurling the banner of European culture. As translator of A. Berenstein's and J. Lipper's scientific works, George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, H. Schumacher's *Bernice*, Anatole Frances' *Thais*, Anderson's *Fairy Tales*, poems by Byron and Pushkin, Th. Herzl's *Fellieutous*, Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and the writings of Rabindranath Tagore, he sought to bring the beauty of Japhet into the tents of Shem. But it was through his original fellieutous, poems and stories and especially through his critical essays that he gained for himself a foremost place in modern Hebrew literature. Through his editorial work on the *Hador* (1901-1904), *Sifrut* (1910), *Reshafim* (1911), *Haboker* (a daily 1911) and the *Hatekufah* (1919-1921), he stimulated other talents and refined the literary taste of the Hebrew readers.

He will be ever remembered for his grace of style, fluent diction, bold utterance and balanced judgment. Hating Lilliputians and the game of make-believe, he was content to follow his

own narrow path in search of his God of truth and of beauty. Standing aside from Zionism and from other nationalistic movements, keeping away also from communal politics, he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of literature. As one of the creators of the modern style, as upholder of classic traditions, and as a prodigious worker, his memory will be treasured long in the story of the "People of the Book."

ELIEZER BEN YEHUDAH. One of the most extraordinary careers in our eventful history was terminated through the death of Eliezer ben Yehudah, on December 16th, at Jerusalem. He was born on March 5, 1858, at Lushki, in the government of Vilna, the son of Yehudah Leib and Feiga Perlman. After the usual training in Bible and Talmud in the schools of his native town and a preparatory course at the Dwinsk Gymnasium, he went to Paris to study medicine at the University. While there, his mind was fired with the vision of the restoration of the Jewish people in their historical homeland, Palestine, united by the bonds of a revived Hebrew language. To translate his vision into reality, he settled in Palestine (in 1881). Undaunted by ill health and by the all-powerful opposition and persecution on the part of the bigots of the old Yishub, this nationalist dreamer courageously struggled to bring new life into Hebrew and to make it the spoken language of the Jewish people in Palestine. If the last Palestinian census showed that eighty thousand Jews claimed Hebrew as their national language, and if tens of thousands of Jews in all countries throughout the world employ the sacred tongue of the Bible as a medium of conversation, it is due to the self-sacrificing work of this great champion of Hebrew.

To furnish a scientific basis for his movement for the revival of Hebrew, Ben Yehudah undertook—in addition to his journalistic endeavors—the publication of an exhaustive dictionary of the Hebrew language. Single handed, he labored, for decades, on this gigantic task, that would have taxed a whole academy of scholars. Five of his ten volume work appeared before his death, four are in the press and one requires the finishing editorial touches. He also left a philological and historical supplement in two volumes. Though his dictionary is not free from defects, it

has been rightly described as "the greatest achievement in Hebrew lexicography." The prodigious labors of this idealistic scholar, pioneer and zealot will be gratefully enshrined in the memory of our people.

DR. MAX SIMON NORDAU. Through the death of Dr. Max Simon Nordau, on January 22, 1923, at Paris, the world lost a great figure in the realm of science and literature and the Jewish people, one of their most brilliant leaders. He was born in Budapest on July 29, 1849, and was named Simcha Meir Südfeld. While he was initiated by his father into Hebrew lore, he broke away from all forms of Judaism at the age of fifteen, and inaugurated the change in his life, at his father's behest, by changing his name to "Max Simon Nordau." Though distinguished as an alienist, he won his fame as journalist and critic of modern society. His *Conventional Lies of our Civilization* (1883), *Paradoxes* (1885) and especially *Degeneration* (1893) rendered him a storm center of Europe. They also made him the target of anti-Semitic attacks and thereby aroused the slumbering Jewish consciousness within him. Upon Herzl's call, he joined the Zionist movement and became its chief prophet. It was rightly said that "no other Jew, excepting Herzl, had so captured the imagination of the Jewish people as had Nordau." If through his iconoclastic radicalism he drew thousands of Jews away from Judaism, he brought tens of thousands of them back to their people and thus, indirectly, to their faith, through the Basle program, which he framed, through his written pleas and impassioned orations.

Driven from France by the fury of War, this arch enemy of militarism, spent the last years of his life as an exile in Spain, and returned to his old home in Paris shortly before his death. Universal Jewry, irrespective of differences in religion and in political views, bowed in profound sorrow at the passing of this lion-hearted warrior, who for over thirty years championed its cause before humanity's bar of justice. Forward looking humanity will remember him for upholding as life's goal, to his fellowmen, "the humanization of the beast, the spiritualization of men, the enlarging and enriching of the individual through compassion, love of one's neighbor, the sense of common citizenship and the subjection of the instincts to Reason."

HERMAN LEBRECHT STRACK. The death of the distinguished German Protestant theologian, Prof. Herman Lebrecht Strack, (on October 5, 1922) at the age of seventy-four, has removed the foremost Christian authority of Jewish literature, and especially of Rabbinics, in modern times. His *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* and the Hebrew and Aramaic Grammars, his *Ausgewaehlte Mishnatractate*, and *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrash*, and his *Juedisches Woerterbuch* and *Juedisch-deutsche Texte*, also his voluminous *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash* (in collaboration with Paul Billerbeck) bear eloquent testimony to the encyclopedic range of his knowledge. Though he founded the Institutum Judaicum (1883) and edited the periodical *Nathaniel* for the purpose of converting Jews to Christianity, he was distinguished by scientific accuracy in his researches and by his friendliness towards the Jewish people. He defended the Jews against the attacks of Stöcker, Rohling, and other anti-Semites of more recent date, through his scholarly works on *Der Blutbergglaube in der Menschheit*, *Blutmorde und Blutritus* (1891) and on the *Juedische Geheimgestze*. He also served as member on the Foreign Board of Consulting Editors of the Jewish Encyclopedia. To him we are indebted for the first reproduction of a Hebrew manuscript, that of the oldest dated Hebrew Bible and of the only complete manuscript of the Talmud at Munich. The Jewish people will ever cherish his memory as one of the *Haside umos ho'olom*.

M. BAEK. Roumanian Jewry mourns the loss of chief rabbi, Dr. M. Baek of Bucharest, who died March 1, 1923, at the advanced age of seventy-seven. He brought to his office a high conception of duty. Fearlessly opposing official anti-Semitism, he averted many dangers that threatened Roumanian Jewry. As representative of traditional Judaism and as leader in educational spheres, he gained for himself the gratitude of his people.

DR. JOSEPH STRAUSS. The death of Rabbi Joseph Strauss on August 30, 1922, removed a scholarly figure from the small body of the Reform ministry of England. He was born at Berlichingen, Germany, and received his education at the universities of Würzburg and Tübingen. After his ordination by Chief Rabbi

Dr. Joseph Von Maier of Württemberg, he came to England and associated himself with the Bowland Street Synagog, Bradford. This position he held for forty-nine years. An advocate of Reform Judaism, a man of wide intellectual activity, and a devoted servant of the people, he left a deep impress not alone upon his community but also upon all Anglo-Jewry. He lectured on German and on Oriental languages at several colleges. He was the author of *Religion and Morals*, *Hebrew and English Hymns and Responses*, *Die Religiöse Philosophie des Abraham ibn Ezra* (1875), and of a volume of essays.

A. RODRIGUES PEREIRE. Judaism in Holland sustained a great loss through the death of Rabbi A. Rodrigues Pereira (September 20, 1922) at the age of sixty-three. Serving as chief rabbi of the Sephardic Community of Amsterdam and as lecturer at the Sephardic seminary of that city, he helped in great measure, to shape Jewish life in Holland.

DR. JOSEPH ROSENFELD. The death of Chief Rabbi Joseph Rosenfeld of Czernowitz (October, 1922), at the age of sixty-three, removed a prominent teacher and preacher from European Jewry. He attended the Yeshibas of his father, the chief rabbi of Miskolcz, Hungary, and of his grandfather, also the seminary of Dr. Hildesheimer at Berlin. After receiving his doctorate at the University of Leipzig, he became the rabbi of Oroshaza in Hungary. For the last thirty years of his life, he held the position of chief rabbi of Czernowitz. He was acclaimed "one of the most eloquent and successful orthodox preachers of our time." As the spiritual guide and faithful defender of his people, he will be long remembered with gratitude.

LUDWIG VENETIANER. Hungarian Jewry lost one of its leading rabbis through the death of Ludwig Venetianer (born May 19, 1867, at Kekskemet). After his studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary and University of Breslau and his graduation from the Seminary of Budapest, he served several congregations in Hungary. From 1896 to his death (December 1922), he ministered to the congregation of Ujpest near Budapest. He was also a special lecturer at the Budapest Seminary. His contributions in Hungarian and in German cover a wide range of subjects. He will be remembered as a gifted preacher and theologian.

PROF. M. BLOCH. Hungarian Jewry has sustained a great loss through the death of M. Bloch, president of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, who died, in March 1923, at the age of sixty-nine. Educated at the Gymnasium at Teschen and at the University of Vienna, he was appointed, in 1881, Professor of History and Classical Philology at the Budapest Seminary, and subsequently succeeded his father as president of the institution. Professor Bloch wrote several works on history and contributed frequently to the Jewish press.

DR. PHILLIPP BLOCH. The death of Dr. Phillipp Bloch (February, 1923), at the age of eighty-two, has removed a scholar of first rank from the field of Jewish knowledge. After completing his studies at the University of Breslau and at the Jewish Theological Seminary of that city, he organized a Jewish congregational school at Munich, (1869) and two years later, became the rabbi of the Israelitische Brüdergemeinde at Posen. This position he held with distinction for forty-nine years, and left it when Posen became Polish in 1920, to make his home in Berlin. Dr. Bloch gained a wide reputation for his studies in Jewish philosophy and mysticism, and in Polish Jewish history. The sections in Winter and Wünsche's *Juedische Literatur* on *Die juedische Religionsphilosophie* and *Die juedische Mystik und Kabbala* were contributed by him. To English readers he is known as the author of the masterly memoir of his teacher Heinrich Graetz, printed in the Index volume of the American edition of Graetz' *History of the Jews*.

SAMUEL RAPAPORT. English Jewry lost a scholarly figure in the death of the Rev. Samuel Rapaport, in his eighty-seventh year. The son of Hershel Rapaport, senior Dayan at Cracow, he came to England in 1863, and was appointed schochet and assistant reader to the Portsmouth Congregation. For twenty-three years he was connected with the Fort Elizabeth Congregation of South Africa. Upon his return to England, in 1896, he organized the Brondesbury Congregation, which he served to the end of his life. He is known to English readers through his *Stories and Sayings from the Talmud*, *Tales and Maxims from the Midrash*, *Tales and Maxims from the Talmud* (second series) and *The*

Blood Accusation and its Refutation (based on Strack's work), and from his occasional contributions to the press. He also left, in manuscript, a work on the Midrash on Lamentations.

AMERICAN LOSSES

In addition to the losses of the Rabbis Emil Gustav Hirsch, Joseph Krauskopf, and Martin A. Meyer*—American Jewry mourns the death of Peter Sweitzer, the devoted Zionist leader; of A. B. Seelenfreund, the self-sacrificing and indefatigable secretary of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith; of H. Levine, editor and social worker; of Albert Lucas, communal worker; of Mayer Sulzberger, jurist, scholar and outstanding figure in conservative religious thought; of Simon Wolf, veteran champion of Jewish rights and of Morris Rosenfeld, the gifted Yiddish poet. By their love of their fellowmen and devotion to Judaism, they raised the honor of Israel. May their memories be remembered as blessings!

* See Memorial Resolutions on pages 143 to 162 of this Year Book.

N

LIST OF ANTHEMS

Prepared by

RABBI JAMES G. HELLER

for

COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOG MUSIC, CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

Anthems marked (*) are for mixed quartette.

(Name in *Italic* following Anthems is that of Publisher)

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Abide With Me*	Bartlett
All Is Peace	Tours
All Praise To God*	Wagner
Arise, O Jerusalem	King
As The Hart Panteth (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Gounod
As The Hart Panteth*	Scott
Awake, Awake*	Stainer
A Song in the Night (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Woodman
As Torrents in Summer*	Elgar
Behold, There Shall Be a Day (<i>Schirmer</i> , Octavo 4004)	Spicker
Behold God Is My Salvation*	West
Bless Ye The Lord	Stokovski
Blessed Be The Lord (Benedictus)	Gounod
Bless The Lord (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Ippolitov-Ivanov
Blessed Be Thou*	Matthews
Bow Down Thine Ear	Casali
Bow Down Thine Ear (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Parker
Bow Down Thine Ear (<i>Schirmer</i> , Octavo 5752)	Owst
But The Lord is Mindful Of His Own*	Mendelssohn
By The Waters of Babylon	Coleridge-Taylor

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
By The Waters of Babylon*	Coleridge-Taylor
By the Waters of Babylon	Stoughton
By Babylon's Wave*	Gounod
Break Forth Into Joy	Barnby
Break Forth Into Joy	Simper
Build Thee More Stately Mansions	Farwell
Come Let Us Worship	Palestrina
Comes At Times a Stillness*	Woodward
Come Now and Let Us Reason	Wareing
Crossing The Bar*	Robyn
Doth Not Wisdom Cry (<i>Schirmer</i> -5199)	James H. Rogers
Elijah*	Mendelssohn
Eternal God Is Thy Refuge	West
Eternal Source of Every Joy	Brandeis
Except The Lord Build The House (<i>Schirmer</i>)	W. W. Gilchrist
Except The Lord Build (<i>Novello</i>)	Fanning
Far From The World (<i>Novello</i>)	Parker
Father, In Thy Mysterious Presence	Scott
Fear Not, O Israel*	Spicker
Fear Not, O Land (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Rogers
Flanders Requiem*	Frank LaForge
For As The Earth Bringeth Forth	Rogers
For He Shall Give His Angels (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Rheinberger
From Egypt's Bondage	Page
From Thy Love As a Father	Gounod
Give Unto The Lord, O Ye Mighty*	Harold Milligan
Glorious Forever	Rachmaninov
God Is a Spirit	Bennett
God Is Love*	Shelley
God Of Mercy, God Of Love (<i>Ditson</i>)	C. M. Weber
God Has Given His Promise True (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Beethoven
God To Whom We Look Up Blindly	Chadwick
God Is Our Hope And Strength (<i>Novello</i>)	West
God Is My Strong Salvation*	Gilchrist
Glory, Honor, Praise and Power (<i>Novello</i>)	Mozart
Great Is Jehovah*	Schubert
Great Is The Lord (<i>H. S. Gordon</i>)	Haydn

Great Is The Lord*	Haydn
Great Is The Lord*	Lohr
Great Is Our Lord	Foster
Hail Gladdening Light*	Martin
He That Shall Endure (Elijah)*	Mendelssohn
He, Watching Over Israel (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
He, Watching Over Israel*	Mendelssohn
Hear, O Lord, And Have Mercy Upon Us (<i>Luckhardt & Belder</i>)	Lewis M. Isaacs
He Sendeth The Springs*	Wareing
He Shall Come Down Like Rain*	Buck
Hear My Prayer, O God (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
Hear, Lord, Hear Us (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Handel
Hear My Prayer (<i>Ditson</i>)	Berwald
Hear Us When We Call	Nanini
Hearken, O Lord, To My Petition (<i>Novello</i>)	M. C. MacKenzie
Hearken Unto Me (<i>Ditson</i> , 12413)	F. Stevenson
Here, As The Night Is Falling (<i>Ditson</i>)	A. J. Davis
Here, By Babylon's Wave (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Gounod
Heavens Resound	Beethoven
How Beautiful On The Mountains*	Brown
How Lovely Are The Messengers*	Mendelssohn
How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings	Brahms
How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings Fair (<i>Novello</i>)	Spohr
Ho, Every One That Thirsteth (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Geo. C. Martin
Ho, Every One That Thirsteth*	Geo. C. Martin
How Goodly Are Thy Tents	Macfarlane
Holy, Holy, Lord God	Lotti
Hymn of Praise*	Mendelssohn
I Have Called, O God, Upon Thee (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Mozart
I Have Longed For Thy Salvation*	Verdi
I Hear Thy Voice	Lang
Incline Thine Ear To Me, O Lord (<i>Schirmer</i>)	F. H. Himmel
Incline Thine Ear To Me, O Lord*	F. H. Himmel
In Heavenly Love Abiding (<i>Novello</i>)	Horatio Parker
In Heavenly Love Abiding*	Horatio Parker
In Heavenly Love Abiding*	Klein
I Do Not Ask, O Lord (<i>Novello</i>)	V. Roberts

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
In The Last Days	Rogers
I Waited For The Lord (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
I Waited For The Lord*	Mendelssohn
I Will Extol Thee (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Wenham Smith
I Will Extol Thee*	Davis
I Will Greatly Rejoice*	Owst
I Sought The Lord	Stevenson
I Sought The Lord*	Stevenson
I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes*	Buck
I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes*	Whitfield
I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes Unto The Hills (<i>Luckhardt</i> & <i>Belder</i>)	Henry L. Case
I Will Magnify Thee (<i>Schirmer</i>)	F. Mosenthal-Klein
I Will Magnify Thee*	F. Mosenthal-Klein
I Will Magnify Thee (<i>Schirmer</i> , No. 5442)	James H. Rogers
I Will Magnify Thee	Palestrina
I Will Magnify Thee*	Parry
I Will Mention The Loving Kindness (<i>Schirmer</i>)	A. Sullivan
I Will Sing Unto The Lord*	Florio
I Will Sing Unto The Lord*	Mann
I Will Sing Of Thy Power	Sullivan
I Will Set His Dominion	Parker
Judge Me, O God*	Mendelssohn
Jerusalem, O Turn Thee (<i>Gallia</i>)*	Gounod
King All-Glorious	Barnby
King All-Glorious*	Barnby
King Of Love My Shepherd Is	Shelley
Land Of Hope And Glory*	Elgar
Laud Ye The Name Of The Lord	Rachmaninov
Lead Kindly Light	Buck
Let The People Praise Thee	Silver
Let The Words Of My Mouth*	Holden
Let The Words Of My Mouth*	Culley
Let Us Now Fear The Lord (<i>Novello</i>)	West
Lift Up Your Heads*	Coleridge-Taylor
Lift Up Your Heads*	Hopkins
Lift Up Thine Eyes*	Allen

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Lift Thine Eyes*	Mendelssohn
Light Of The World (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Starnes
Like As a Father	Marston
Lo, The Winter Is Past	Gadsby
Lord, How Long Wilt Thou Forget Me? (<i>Novello</i>)	J. Brahms
Lord, I Have Loved Thy Habitation*	Salaman
Look On The Fields (<i>Ditson</i>)	Rogers
Lord God Almighty*	Verdi-Stearnes
Lord Is Exalted	West
Lord Of All Being Throned Afar (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	G. W. Marston
Lord Of The Worlds Above	Arthur Foote
Lord Of The Worlds Above (Trio)	Arthur Foote
Lord Of The Worlds Above*	West
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling (<i>Ditson</i>)	Fletcher
Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Dwelling (<i>Flammer</i>)	Rogers
Lord, Who Shall Dwell In Thy Tabernacle (<i>Novello</i>)	L. Varley Roberts
Lost Chord	Sullivan
Lovely Appear	Gounod
Lovely Appear*	Gounod
May The Words*	Blair
Messiah*	Handel
My Defense Is Of God	Huhn
My Defense Is Of God*	Huhn
My Mouth Shall Speak*	West
My Shepherd	Sarti
My Soul Longeth*	Marston
O Blessed Are They That Love Thee (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Russell K. Miller
O Come Let Us Worship*	Mendelssohn
O Come Let Us Sing*	Foster
O For The Wings Of a Dove	Mendelssohn
O For The Wings Of a Dove*	Mendelssohn
O Give Thanks Unto The Lord	Hadley
O God, My Heart Is Ready (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	S. B. Whitney
O God Of Hosts, The Mighty Lord (<i>Ditson</i>)	L. Spohr
O God, Our Lord, How Excellent (<i>Schirmer</i>)	A. Sullivan

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
O God, Our Help In Ages Past (<i>White-Smith Mus. Pub.</i>)	W. R. Haghorne
O God Thou Art My God*	Scott
O God, Who Is Like Unto Thee (<i>Novello</i>)	Foster
Oh, How Amiable*	West
O, How Amiable*	Rogers
O Lord and Ruler	Stainer
O Lord, How Manifold Thy Works (<i>Schirmer-5754</i>)	Rogers
O Lord, How Manifold*	Barnby
O Lord, God Of My Salvation (<i>Ditson</i>)	Berwald
O Lord, The Very Heavens (<i>Novello</i>)	Wareing
O Lord, My God, Hear Thou The Prayer (<i>Schirmer</i>)	R. Cecil Klein
O Lord, My Trust*	Hall
O Lord, Thou Art My Shield*	Stevenson
O Love The Lord, All Ye His Saints (<i>Wm. Maxwell Mus. Pub. Co., 96 Fifth Ave.</i>)	G. B. Nevin
O Lord, Most High*	Aby
O Our God, God Of Love (<i>Schirmer</i>)	R. Cecil Klein
On High The Stars Now Are Shining (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Rheinberger
On Thee Each Living Soul Awaits (<i>Novello</i>)	Haydn
O Praise God In His Holiness	Watts
O Praise God In His Holiness (<i>Novello</i>)	Theo. Distin
O Rest In The Lord	Mendelssohn
O Sing Unto The Lord a New Song	Parker
O Thou That Hearest Prayer	Davies
Out Of Heaven The Lord Hath Made Thee (<i>Schirmer</i>)	F. H. Cowen
Out Of The Deep I Called Up To Thee (<i>Novello</i>)	L. Spohr
Out Of The Deep (<i>Novello</i>)	Davies
Out Of The Deep*	Martin
O Thou Whose Power Tremendous (<i>Ditson</i>)	Rossini
O Worship The Lord*	Watson
O, What Is Man, Omnipotent (<i>Novello</i>)	Russell K. Miller
Ponder My Words, O Lord (<i>Schirmer-5821</i>)	F. F. Harker
Praise The Lord, O Jerusalem (<i>Novello</i>)	J. H. Maunder
Praise The Lord, O Jerusalem*	J. H. Maunder

*Anthems**Composer*

Praise The Lord*	Randagger
Praise The Lord And Call Upon His Name (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	Geo. A. Burdette
Praise The Lord O My Soul*	Royle
Praise The Lord O My Soul*	Smallwood
Praise Thou The Lord (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Mendelssohn
Praise Waiteth For Thee O Lord*	Foster
Praise Ye The Lord (<i>Schirmer</i>)	W. G. Owst
Praise Ye (Attila)*	Verdi
Praise Waiteth For Thee*	Ambrose
Preserve Me, O God (<i>Novello</i> -520)	C. K. Salaman
Prepare Ye The Way Of The Lord	Garrett
Psalm CXLVI*	Strachaner
Psalm CL	Franck
Psalm 150*	Randegger
Psalm CL*	Franck
Recessional*	Schnecker
Recessional*	DeKoven
Rejoice, O Ye Righteous (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	Reinhold L. Herman
Rejoice, O Ye Righteous*	Reinhold L. Herman
Rejoice The Heart*	Southard
Rejoice In The Lord	Purcell
Rejoice In The Lord*	Kotzchmar
Righteous Art Thou (<i>Novello</i>)	West
Ring Out Wild Bells*	Fletcher
Righteous Art Thou, O Lord*	West
Rise, Rise	Harling
Rise, Crowned With Light*	Harling
Round Jerusalem Stand The Mountains	Hiller
Sabbath Morn*	Night
Save Me, O God (<i>Novello</i>)	Bairstowe
Saviour When Night	Kraft
Seek Ye The Lord (<i>Ditson</i>)	F. W. Perry
Search Me, O God*	Holden
Seek Him That Maketh The Seven Stars (<i>Ditson</i>)	Rogers
Seek Him That Maketh The Seven Stars*	Rogers
Seek Him That Maketh The Seven Stars	Elgar

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Seek Ye The Lord*	Roberts
Send Out Thy Light*	Gounod
Shades Of Eve Are Falling	Schubert
Shew Thy Loving Kindness*	Federlein
Selections From Judas Maccabaeus*	Handel
Sing Joyfully To The Lord (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	Scharwenka
Sing Allelujah Forth*	Buck
Sing Unto The Lord (<i>Luckhardt & Belder</i>)	A. J. Davis
Sing We Merrily Unto God (<i>Schirmer</i>)	T. Wolstenholme
Sing And Rejoice (<i>Novello</i>)	West
Still, Still With Thee (<i>Ditson</i>)	Rogers
Sing We Merrily	West
Sing Unto God	Harling
Sing Unto God*	Hyatt
Song Of Deborah	Goepp
Still With Thee, O My God (<i>Wm. Maxwell</i>)	E. S. Hosmer
Shadows Falling Dark And Long (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Rheinberger
Sweet Is Thy Mercy, Lord*	Barnby
St. Paul*	Mendelssohn
The Shadow Of Thy Wings*	Andrews
Thine, O Lord	Harling
Thine, O Lord (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Macfarlane
To Whom Then Shall We Liken God (<i>Novello</i>)	Parker
The Earth Is The Lord's (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Rogers
The Earth Is The Lord's (<i>Novello</i>)	Hollins
The Eternal God Is Our Refuge*	West
The Heavens Resound*	Beethoven
The King Shall Rejoice*	Goss
Thou, O God, Art Praised In Sion (<i>Novello</i>)	Selby
The Lord Bless Thee (<i>Schirmer, 5424</i>)	L. Damrosch
The Lord Is Exalted*	West
Thou Earth, Waft Sweet Incense (<i>Novello</i>)	L. Spohr
The Lord Great Wonders For Us Hath Wrought (<i>Novello</i>)	F. Hiller
Thy Mercy, O Lord*	Barnby
Thy Way, Not Mine, O Lord (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	Arthur Foote
To God Be Praise (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Mendelssohn

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
The King of Love My Shepherd Is*	Shelly
The Lord Is Great (<i>Ditson</i>)	A. J. Davis
The Lord Is King*	Stevenson
The Lord Is Exalted*	Lansing
The Lord Is My Shepherd (<i>Ditson</i> , 364)	G. A. Macfarren
The Lord Is My Shepherd*	Koshat-Schubert-Emerson-Smart
The Lord Is My Light (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i> , 509)	Scharwenka
The Lord Is My Light*	Parker
The Lord Is My Light*	Rogers
The Lord Is My Light*	Webb
The Lord Is My Rock (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Woodman
The Lord Is My Strength*	Steane
The Lord Said (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Berthold Tours
The Radiant Morn*	Woodward
The Soft Sabbath Calm*	Barnby
The Pillars Of The Earth (<i>Ditson</i> -12057)	Rogers
The Silent Sea*	Neidlinger
The Souls Of The Righteous*	Noble
The Souls Of The Righteous*	Foster
There Is a Land Of Pure Delight*	Shelly
The Wilderness And The Solitary Place (<i>Schirmer</i>)	John Goss
Thou Wilt Keep Him (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Myles B. Foster
There Is a River*	Burdette
Thou O God Art Praised in Zion*	Harris
Thus Saith The Lord (<i>Ditson</i>)	A. R. Gaul
Truly My Soul Waiteth Upon God (<i>Novello</i>)	W. Rea
Turn Thy Face From My Sins (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Russell K. Miller
Unfold, Ye Portals	Gounod
Unto Thee, O God (<i>Novello</i>)	West
Unto Thee, O God, Do We Give Thanks	Watson
V'Shomru*	Binder
When Israel Went Out of Egypt (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
When The Lord Turned (<i>Novello</i>)	Faning
We Love The Place	Palestrina
While The Earth Remaineth	Tours
Who Is Like Unto Thee	Sullivan

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
Who Is Like Unto Thee*	Sullivan
Who Is Like Unto Thee	Scott
Woods And Every Sweet-smelling Tree	West
Woods And Every Sweet-smelling Tree*	West
Wilderness (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Wesley
Why Art Thou Cast Down, O My Soul (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Spicker
We Gather Together (<i>Ditson</i> , 12606)	Kremsner
We Plough The Fields (<i>Ditson</i> , 11955)	Bruce Steane
Why Do The Heathen Rage?*	Woodman
Why Art Thou Cast Down*	Andrews
Why Live, When Life Is Sad (<i>A. P. Schmidt</i>)	Frederick H. Cowen
While All Things Were Quiet Silence (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Woodman
What Is Death? (<i>Ditson</i>)	Russell K. Miller
Ye Mountains That Ye Skip Like Rams (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
Ye People, Rend Your Hearts (<i>Schirmer</i>)	Mendelssohn
Ye Sons Of Israel (<i>Novello</i>)	Mendelssohn
Ye Shall Go Forth With Joy (<i>Ditson</i> , 11294)	H. J. Storer

Services for Mixed Quartet

Naumberg Services, I 7 and II	.
Psalm 29	Naumberg
Psalm 24	Loeb
Psalm 8	Loeb
Psalm 118	Loeb
Shofar	Stark
V'Shomru	Lewandowski
Psalm 36	Lewandowski
Psalm 37	Lewandowski
Psalms 100-92-93	Naumberg
Psalm 90	Lewandowski
Psalm 100	Lewandowski
Psalm 24	Sulzer
Adon Olom (New Year) Manuscript	
Yigdal	Sulzer

<i>Anthems</i>	<i>Composer</i>
B'zeth Jisroel	Lewandowski
Adon Olom I and II	Sulzer
Psalm 150	Drechsler
B'zeth Yisroel	Goldstein
Hodu, Succoth	
Memorial Hymn	Stark
Why Art Thou Cast Down	Stark
Psalm 150	Drechler
Psalm 150	Naumberg
Psalm 100	Naumberg
Ma Tovv (New Year)	
N'Kadesh	Loeb
Psalm 23	Lewandowski
Hanneros Jalolu, Manuscript	
Temple Service, I and II	Goldstein
Evening Service	Ender
Evening Service, No. 2	Ender
Morning Service	Tyler
Gesange	Sulzer
Psalmen	Lewandowski
Todah W'Simrah	Lewandowski
Schir Zion, I and II	Sulzer
Yeverechecho, Ms.	
Songs of Zion	
Fall Holiday Services	Stark and Wald
Graumann Evening Service	
Stark Morning Service	
Foote Morning Service	
Dunkley Evening Service	
Spicker Morning Service	
Spicker Evening Service	
Rogers New Year Service	
Rogers Morning Service	
Rogers Evening Service	
Wald Evening Service	
Federlein Evening Service	

*Anthems**Composer*

Dunham Morning Service
Davis Evening Service
Grimm Morning Service
Schlesinger Service
Sulzer Morning Service
Sulzer Evening Service
Lewandowski Service

Isaac Mayer Wise

Founder of the

Central Conference
of American Rabbis

and

First President

1889-1900

DECEASED MEMBERS

AARON, ISRAEL, Buffalo, N. Y.....	1912
ADLER, SAMUEL, New York City.....	1891
ADLER, LIEBMAN, Chicago, Ill.....	1892
BAUER, SOLOMON H., Chicago, Ill.....	1913
BENJAMIN, RAPHAEL, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1907
BERNSTEIN, LOUIS, Baltimore, Md.....	1922
BIEN, HENRY M., Vicksburg, Miss.....	1895
BIRKENTHAL, HERMAN, Hamilton, Ont.....	1893
BLAUSTEIN, DAVID, New York City.....	1912
BLUM, ABRAHAM, New York City.....	1921
BLOCH, JACOB, Portland Ore.....	1916
BOGEN, JOSEPH, Jackson, Tenn.....	1919
BONNHEIM, BENJAMIN A., Cincinnati, O.....	1909
CANTOR, BERNARD, New York City.....	1920
CARO, VICTOR, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1912
CHUMACEIRO, H. J. M., Curacao, D. W. I.....	1905
COHEN, OSCAR J., Mobile, Ala.....	1901
DEUTSCH, GOTTHARD, Cincinnati, O.....	1921
DEINARD, SAMUEL N., Minneapolis, Minn.....	1921
ELKIN, MEYER, Hartford, Conn.....	1915
FELDMAN, EPHRAIM, Cincinnati, O.....	1910
FELSENTHAL, BERNARD, Chicago, Ill.....	1908
FEUERLICHT, DAVID, Owensboro, Ky.....	1897
FEUERLICHT, JACOB, Chicago, Ill.....	1920
FISCHER, E. K., Chattanooga, Tenn.....	1903
FRIEDLANDER, JOSEPH, Plainfield, N. J.....	1917
GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV, New York City.....	1903
GRIES, MOSES J., Cleveland, O.....	1918
GROSSMAN, IGNATZ, Chicago, Ill.....	1897
GUTTMACHER, ADOLF, Baltimore, Md.....	1915
HERZ, JOSEPH, Columbus, Miss.....	1909
HESS, EMANUEL L., St. Paul, Minn.....	1907
HIRSCH, EMIL G., Chicago, Ill.....	1923
ISAACS, ABRAM S., Paterson, N. J.....	1920
JACOBSON, JACOB S., Chicago, Ill.....	1911
JESSELSON, FELIX W., Grand Rapids, Mich.....	1920
JOSEPH, ISRAEL, Montgomery, Ala.....	1897

KAISER, ALOIS, Baltimore, Md.....	1908
KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1923
LANDAU, JACOB H., Las Vegas, N. M.....	1919
LAZARUS, ABRAHAM, Houston, Tex.....	1900
LEUCHT, ISAAC L., New Orleans, La.....	1914
LEUCHT, JOSEPH, Newark, N. J.....	1920
LEVY, ABRAHAM R., Chicago, Ill.....	1915
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1917
LEVY, M. S., San Francisco, Cal.....	1916
LEWINTHAL, ISIDORE, Nashville, Tenn.....	1922
LOWENSTEIN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....	1901
MACHOL, MICHAEL, Cleveland, O.....	1912
MANNHEIMER, SIGMUND, Cincinnati, O.....	1909
MAYER, ELI, Albany, N. Y.....	1920
MAYER, LIPPMAN, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1904
MENDELSON, SAMUEL, Wilmington, N. C.....	1923
MESSING, AARON J., Chicago, Ill.....	1916
MESSING, HENRY J., St. Louis, Mo.....	1913
MEYER, MARTIN A., San Francisco, Cal.....	1923
MIELZINER, MOSES, Cincinnati, O.....	1903
MOSES, ADOLPH, Louisville, Ky.....	1902
NEWMAN, JULIUS, Chicago, Ill.....	1920
NOOT, MEYER, Williamsport, Pa.....	1916
NORDEN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....	1905
RADIN, ADOLPH M., New York City.....	1909
SADLER, BERNARD, Easton, Pa.....	1917
SAMFIELD, MAX, Memphis, Tenn.....	1915
SCHWAB, ISAAC, St. Joseph, Mo.....	1907
SCHLESINGER, MAX, Albany, N. Y.....	1919
SOLOMON, M., Appleton, Wis.....	1892
SONNENSCHEN, SOLOMON, St. Louis, Mo.....	1908
SPITZ, MORITZ, St. Louis Mo.....	1921
STEMPLE, I., Yonkers, N. Y.....	1900
STERN, LOUIS, Washington, D. C.....	1919
STRAUSS, LEON, Belleville, Ill.....	1895
SZOLD, BENJAMIN, Baltimore, Md.....	1902
VOORSANGER, JACOB, San Francisco, Cal.....	1908
WECHSLER, JUDAH, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1907
WEISS, L., Bradford, Pa.....	1909
WINTNER, LEOPOLD, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1923
WISE, AARON, New York City.....	1896
WISE, ISAAC M., Cincinnati, O.....	1900
WOLFENSTEIN, SAMUEL, Cleveland, O.....	1921
ZIRNDORF, HEINRICH, Cincinnati, O.....	1893

PAST PRESIDENTS

ISAAC M. WISE.....	1889-1900
JOSEPH SILVERMAN	1900-1903
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF	1903-1905
JOSEPH STOLZ	1905-1907
DAVID PHILIPSON	1907-1909
MAX HELLER	1909-1911
SAMUEL SCHULMAN	1911-1913
MOSES J. GRIES.....	1913-1915
WILLIAM ROSENAU	1915-1917
LOUIS GROSSMAN	1917-1919
LEO M. FRANKLIN	1919-1921
EDWARD N. CALISCH.....	1921-1923
ABRAM SIMON	1923-

PREVIOUS CONVENTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

1889.....	Detroit, Mich.	1905.....	Cleveland, O.
1890.....	Cleveland, O.	1906.....	Indianapolis, Ind.
1891.....	Baltimore, Md.	1907-1908.....	Frankfort, Mich.
1892.....	Washington, D. C.	1909.....	New York, N. Y.
1893.....	Chicago, Ill.	1910.....	Charlevoix, Mich.
1894.....	Atlantic City, N. J.	1911..	St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn.
1895.....	Rochester, N. Y.	1912.....	Baltimore, Md.
1896.....	Milwaukee, Wis.	1913.....	Atlantic City, N. J.
1897.....	Montreal, Canada	1914.....	Detroit, Mich.
1898.....	Atlantic City, N. J.	1915.....	Charlevoix, Mich.
1899.....	Cincinnati, O.	1916.....	Wildwood, N. J.
1900.....	Buffalo, N. Y.	1917.....	Buffalo, N. Y.
1901.....	Philadelphia, Pa.	1918.....	Chicago, Ill.
1902.....	New Orleans, La.	1919.....	Cincinnati, O.
1903.....	Detroit, Mich.	1920.....	Rochester, N. Y.
1904.....	Louisville, Ky.	1921.....	Washington, D. C.
1922-1923.....	Cape May, N. J.		
Atlantic City, N. J., 1894, 1898, 1913		Louisville, Ky.....	1904
Baltimore, Md.....	1891, 1912	Milwaukee, Wis.....	1896
Buffalo, N. Y.....	1900, 1917	Montreal, Canada.....	1897
Cape May, N. J.....	1922, 1923	New Orleans, La.....	1902
Charlevoix, Mich.....	1910, 1915	New York, N. Y.....	1909
Chicago, Ill.....	1893, 1918	Philadelphia, Pa.....	1901
Cincinnati, O.....	1899, 1919	Rochester, N. Y.....	1895, 1920
Cleveland, O.....	1890, 1905	St. Paul-Minneapolis.....	1911
Detroit, Mich.....	1889, 1903, 1914	Washington, D. C.....	1892, 1921
Frankfort, Mich.....	1907, 1908	Wildwood, N. J.....	1916
Indianapolis, Ind.....	1906		

LIST OF MEMBERS

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- Freund, Iser, A. B., Rabbi, B'nai Israel, 406 Jackson St., Monroe, La.
- Frey, Sigmund, Rabbi, 419 S. Westminster, Los Angeles, Cal.
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- Goldenstein, Raphael, A. B., Rabbi, Hotel Chelsea, W. 23rd and 7th Ave., New York City.
- Goldstein, Sidney E., B. A., Rabbi, Central and Free Synagogs, 40 W. 68th St., New York City.
- Gordon, Nathan, B. C. L., Ph. D., P. O. Box 981, Montreal, Canada.
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- Greenburg, William Henry, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, 600 Riverside Drive, New York City.
- Gross, Louis D., M. A., Rabbi, Union Temple of Brooklyn, 570 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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- Guttman, Adolph, Ph. D., Rabbi Emeritus, Temple Society of Concord, Syracuse, N. Y., 95 Linden St., New Haven, Conn.
- Haas, Louis Jacob, A. B., Rabbi, Ohev Sholom Congregation, 1426 N. 2nd St., Harrisburg, Pa.
- Harris, Maurice H., M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Israel of City of New York, 418 Central Park, W., New York City.
- Harris, Samuel J., A. B., Rabbi, Collingswood Ave. Temple, 527 Virginia St., Toledo, O.
- Harrison, Leon, A. B., Ph. D., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 5515 Cabanne Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
- Hausmann, Gustav N., Litt. D., Rabbi, Community Synagog, 25 W. 120th St., New York City.
- Hecht, Sigmund, D. D., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai B'rith, 817 Beacon St., Los Angeles, Cal.
- Heinberg, Israel L., Rabbi, P. O. Box 360, Monroe, La.
- Heller, Bernard, Rabbi, Congregation Anshe Chesed, 1020 Linden St., Scranton, Pa.

- Heller, James G., M. A., Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Yeshurun, 3634 Reading Rd., Cincinnati, O.
- Heller, Maxmillian, M. L., Rabbi, Temple Sinai, 1658 Joseph St., New Orleans, La.
- Herman, Carl N., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation B'er Chayim, P. O. Box 791, Cumberland, Md.
- Hevesh, Joseph, M. A., D. D. S., Rabbi, Humboldt Blvd. Temple, 1401 N. Fairfield Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Hirschberg, Abram, A. B., Rabbi, Temple Sholom, 2634 Lake View Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Hirshberg, Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, 546 Kenwood Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.
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- Lauterbach, Jacob Z., Ph. D., Rabbi, Professor Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.
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- Levi, Gerson B., Ph. D., Rabbi, B'nai Sholom-Temple Israel, 919 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
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- Levin, Jacob K., A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, 518 Howard St., South Spokane, Wash.
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- Levy, David, Rabbi, Park Ave. Temple, Bridgeport, Conn.

- Levy, Felix A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill.
- Lewis, Harry Samuel, M. A., Rabbi, Chaplain Manhattan City Prisons, 616 W. 184th St., New York City.
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- Lowenstein, Solomon, A. B., Rabbi, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Charities, 114 5th Ave., New York City.
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- Lyons, Alexander, M. A., Ph. D., Rabbi, Congregation Beth Elohim, 88 Prospect Pk., W., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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- Marcuson, Isaac E., B. L., Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, 204 Buford Place, Macon, Ga.
- Margolis, Harry S., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 7th and Monroe, Paducah, Ky.
- Mark, Jerome, A. B., Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, 1636 W. Clinch Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.
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- Marks, Samuel, Rabbi, Temple Beth El, 515 W. Laurel St., San Antonio, Tex.
- Markowitz, Samuel H., M. A., Rabbi, Temple Israel, 634 Ferry St., Lafayette, Ind.
- Marx, David, B. L., Rabbi, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 357 St. Charles Ave., Atlanta, Ga.

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LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS BY STATE AND CITY

ALABAMA

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
Birmingham	Emanuel	Morris Newfield
Mobile	Shaare Shamayim	Alfred G. Moses
Selma	Mishkan Israel	Simon Cohen

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith	United Hebrew	Wm. M. Stern
Helena	Beth El	Joseph Leiser
Hot Springs	House of Israel	Abraham B. Rhine
Pine Bluff	Temple Israel	Louis Brav

CALIFORNIA

Alhambra		Milton Ellis
Fresno		Alexander D. Segel
Los Angeles	B'nai B'rith	{ S. Hecht
		{ Edgar F. Magnin
		Sigmund Frey
Oakland	Temple Sinai	Emanuel Schreiber
Sacramento	First Hebrew	Rudolph I. Coffee
	Sherith Israel	Michael Fried
		Jacob Nieto
		Herman Rosenwasser
San Jose	Bickur Cholim	Harvey B. Franklin
Stockton	Israel	Harvey E. Wessel
Venice		David L. Liknaitz

COLORADO

Denver	Emanuel	William S. Friedman
Pueblo	Emanuel	Moise Bergman

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport	Park Avenue	David Levy
Hartford	Beth Israel	Abraham S. Anspacher
New Haven	Mishkan Israel	Sidney S. Tedesche
		Adolph Guttman
Waterbury	Israel	Bernard M. Kaplan

DELAWARE

Wilmington	Beth Emeth	Lee J. Levinger
	Beth Shalom	Moses J. S. Abels

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
Washington	Washington Hebrew	Abram Simon

FLORIDA

Jacksonville	Ahavath Chesed	Israel L. Kaplan
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GEORGIA

Albany	B'nai Israel	Edmund A. Landau
Athens	Children of Israel	Abraham I. Shinedling
Atlanta	Hebrew Benevolent	David Marx
Columbus	B'nai Israel	Frank L. Rosenthal
Macon	Beth Israel	Isaac E. Marcuson
Savannah	Mikve Israel	George Solomon

ILLINOIS

Champaign	Sinai	Benj. M. Frankel
Chicago	Temple Judea	Leon Fram
	South Shore Temple	George Fox
	Humboldt Blvd. Temple	Joseph Hevesh
	Temple Sholom	Abram Hirschberg
		Israel Klein
	B'nai Sholom-Temple Israel	Gerson B. Levi
	Emanuel	Felix A. Levy
	Sinai	Louis L. Mann
	Beth Israel	Samuel Felix Mendelsohn
		Julius H. Meyer
		David Rosenbaum
	Washington Blvd.	Samuel Schwartz
	Anshe Mayriv	Tobias Schanfarber
	Mizpah	Jacob Singer
	Isaiah	Joseph Stolz
	B'nai Joshua	Joseph Henry Stolz
		Jacob Turner
	Moses Montefiore	M. Ungerleider
		Elkan C. Voorsanger
		Albert B. Yudelsohn
Peoria	Anshai Emeth	Meyer Lovitch
		S. G. Bottigheimer
Winnetka	North Shore	Louis A. Mischkind

INDIANA

Evansville	Washington Ave. Temple	Jack H. Skirball
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INDIANA—*Continued*

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
Gary	Temple Israel	Pizer W. Jacobs
Indianapolis	Indianapolis Hebrew	{ Morris M. Feuerlicht
		{ Mayer Messing
		Jacob B. Krohngold
Lafayette	Temple Israel	S. H. Markowitz
South Bend	Temple Beth El	Julius Mark
Terre Haute	Temple Israel	Joseph L. Fink

IOWA

Davenport	B'nai Israel	Joseph L. Baron
Des Moines	B'nai Jeshurun	Eugene Mannheimer
Sioux City	Mt. Sinai	Isadore Isaacson

KANSAS

Leavenworth	B'nai Jeshurun	M. N. A. Cohen
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KENTUCKY

Louisville	Adath Israel	Joseph Rauch
	B'rith Sholom	Jerome Rosen
Paducah	Temple Israel	Harry S. Margolis

LOUISIANA

Alexandria	Gemilluth Hassodim	Myron M. Meyerovitz
Baton Rouge	B'nai Israel	Harold F. Reinhart
Monroe	B'nai Israel	Israel L. Heinberg
		Iser Freund
		{ Max Heller
New Orleans	Sinai	{ Elihu Starrels
	Touro	Emil W. Leipziger
	Gates of Prayer	Mendel Silber
	Julius Wise	Morris Sessler
		David Fichman
Shreveport	B'Nai Zion	Abram Brill

MARYLAND

Baltimore	Baltimore Hebrew	Morris S. Lazon
	Oheb Shalom	{ William Rosenau
		{ Louis Binstock
	Har Sinai	Edward L. Israel
		Chas. A. Rubenstein
Cumberland	B'er Chayim	Carl N. Herman

MASSACHUSETTS

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
Boston	Adath Israel	Harry Levi
	Ohabei Shalom	Samuel J. Abrams
Brockton	Israel	David Goldberg

MICHIGAN

Detroit	Beth Israel	{ Leo M. Franklin Henry J. Berkowitz
Grand Rapids	Emanuel	
		Philip F. Waterman

MINNESOTA

Duluth	Emanuel	Alvin S. Luchs
Minneapolis	Israel	Albert G. Minda
		Maurice Lefkovits
St. Paul	Mt. Zion Hebrew	Leonard J. Rothstein

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville	Hebrew Union	Samuel A. Rabinowitz
Meridian	Beth Israel	William Ackerman
Vicksburg	Anshe Chesed	Sol L. Kory

MISSOURI

Joplin	United Hebrew	Isaac L. Rypins
Kansas City	B'nai Jehudah	Harry H. Mayer
St. Joseph	Adath Joseph	Garry J. August
St. Louis	Temple Israel	Leon Harrison
	Shaare Emeth	{ Samuel Sale Louis Witt
	B'nai El	
	United Hebrew	Julian Miller
		Samuel Thurman

NEBRASKA

Omaha	Israel	Frederick Cohn
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LIST OF MEMBERS

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NEW JERSEY

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
Atlantic City	Beth Israel	Henry M. Fisher
		Henry Berkowitz
East Orange	Shaare Tephila	Nathan E. Barasch
Hoboken		Alter Abelson
Long Branch	Beth Miriam	Barnett A. Elzas
Newark	B'nai Jeshurun	Solomon Foster
	B'nai Abraham	Julius Silberfeld
Paterson	B'nai Jeshurun	Harry R. Richmond
Philipsburg	Bene Jeshurun	David Levy

NEW YORK

Albany	Beth Emeth	Marius Ranson
Amsterdam	Temple Israel	I. J. Sarasohn
Brooklyn	Union Temple	Simon R. Cohen
	Progressive Synagog	David Klein
	Beth Emeth	Samuel J. Levinson
	B'nai Sholom	Marcus Friedlander
	Union Temple	Louis D. Gross
	Beth Elohim	Alexander Lyons
	Bay Parkway Temple	Max Reichler
	Shaarai Zedek	Harry Weiss
Buffalo	Beth Zion	Louis J. Kopald
Far Rockaway	Temple of Israel	Isaac Landman
Flushing	Free Synagog	Maxwell Silver
Jamaica	Israel	Aaron L. Weinstein
Mt. Vernon	Sinai	Joseph I. Gorfinkle
Newburgh	Beth Jacob	William Lowenberg
New York	Temple Peni El	Joel Blau
	Hebrew Tabernacle	I. Mortimer Bloom
	Covenant	Frederick E. Braun
	K'hal Israel	David Davidson
	Emanuel	Hyman G. Enelow
		Emanuel Gerechter
New York	Free Synagog	Sidney E. Goldstein
		William H. Greenburg
	Rodeph Sholom	Rudolph Grossman
	Temple Israel of N. Y. C.	Maurice H. Harris
	Ahavath Israel	Gustav N. Hausman
		Theodore F. Joseph
		Israel Klein

NEW YORK—*Continued*

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
	Emanuel	Nathan Krass Kaufman Kohler George A. Kohut Clifton H. Levy Harry S. Lewis
	Jewish Science	Morris Lichtenstein Harry S. Linfield
	Riverside Synagog	Edward Lissman Solomon C. Lowenstein
	Temple Israel	Louis I. Newman Jacob B. Pollack
	Tremont	Irving F. Reichert
	Beth El	Samuel Schulman
	Free Synagog	Maxwell Silver
	Emanuel	Joseph Silverman Adolph Spiegel
	West End	Nathan Stern
	Mt. Zion	Benjamin A. Tintner Isidore Warsaw
	Free Synagog	J. Max Weis
	Free Synagog	Stephen S. Wise
Niagara Falls	Beth El	Solomon Fineberg
Pelham		F. De Sola Mendes
Rochester	Berith Kodosh	{ Max Landsberg Horace J. Wolf
Syracuse	Society of Concord	Benjamin Friedman

NORTH CAROLINA

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Goldsboro	Oheb Sholom	J. L. Mayerberg
Wilmington	Temple Israel	Frederick I. Rypins

OHIO

Akron	Akron Hebrew	David Alexander
Canton	Canton Hebrew	Charles B. Latz
Cincinnati	B'nai Jeshurun	{ Louis Grossman James G. Heller
	She'erith Israel-Ahabath Achim	Jacob H. Kaplan

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		Israel Bettan
		Moses Buttenweiser
		Samuel S. Cohon
		Abraham Cronbach
		Henry Englander
		Solomon B. Freehof
		Jacob Z. Lauterbach
		Jacob Mann
		Jacob R. Marcus
		David Neumark
		Henry Slonimsky
		Louis D. Wolfenson
	Union of American Hebrew Congregation	{ George Zepin
		{ Louis I. Egelson
		{ Jacob D. Schwarz
		{ Michael Aaronsohn
Cleveland	The Temple	Abba Hillel Silver
	Euclid Ave. Temple	{ Louis Wolsey
		{ David S. Nathan
		Joseph Jasin
		Leo Reich
Columbus	Temple Israel	Jacob Tarshish
Dayton	B'nai Jeshurun	Samuel S. Mayerberg
Toledo	Collingwood Ave.	Samuel J. Harris
		Charles J. Freund
Youngstown	Rodef Shalom	Isador E. Philo

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City	B'nai Israel	Joseph Blatt
Tulsa	Temple Israel	Samuel S. Kaplan

OREGON

Portland	Beth Israel	Jonah B. Wise
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PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown	Keneseth Israel	Ira E. Sanders
Danville	B'nai Zion	Adolph Rosenberg
Easton	B'rith Sholem	Solomon Landman

PENNSYLVANIA—*Continued*

<i>City</i>	<i>Congregation</i>	<i>Rabbi</i>
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Harrisburg	Oheb Sholom	Louis J. Haas
Hazleton	Beth Israel	Arthur S. Montaz
Lancaster		Isidore Rosenthal
Philadelphia	Rodef Shalom	{ Harry W. Ettelson
		{ F. M. Isserman
	Keneseth Israel	Abram J. Feldman
	Beth Judah	Jacob Klein
	Beth Israel	Marvin Nathan
Pittsburgh	Rodef Shalom	Samuel H. Goldenson
Reading	Oheb Sholom	Julius Frank
Scranton	Anshe Chesed	Bernard Heller
Wilkes-Barre	B'nai B'rith	Marcus Salzman

RHODE ISLAND

Providence	Sons of Israel and David	Samuel M. Gup
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SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston	Beth Elohim	Jacob S. Raisin
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TENNESSEE

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Knoxville	Beth El	Jerome Mark
Memphis	Children of Israel	William H. Fineshriber
Nashville	Vine St. Temple	Richard M. Stern

TEXAS

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Dallas	Emanuel	David Lefkowitz
El Paso	Mt. Sinai	Martin Zielonka
Fort Worth	Beth El	Harry A. Merfeld
Galveston	B'nai Israel	Henry Cohen
Houston	Beth Israel	Henry Barnston
	Adath Yeshurun	Wolff Willner
Marshall	Moses Montefiore	Emil Ellinger
San Antonio	Beth El	Ephraim Frisch
Tyler	Beth El	Maurice Faber
Waco	Rodeph Sholom	Wolfe Macht

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VIRGINIA

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Richmond	Beth Ahabah	Edward N. Calisch

WASHINGTON

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Spokane	Emanuel	Jacob K. Levin

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Clarksburg	Emanuel	Michael G. Solomon
Huntington	Ohef Sholom	Abraham Feinstein
Wheeling	L'Shem Shamayim	Hyman Iola

WISCONSIN

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	B'nai Jeshurun	Charles S. Levi
		Simon Peiser
	B'nai Israel	Julius Rappaport

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	Emanu-El	Max C. Merritt
Toronto	Holy Blossom	Barnet R. Brickner

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- III. Jew and Non-Jew, Martin A. Meyer.

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